



Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-90-018
Friday
26 January 1990

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Chernyshev Criticizes U.S. Test Ban Talks Delay
*LD2501213890 Moscow TASS in English 2118 GMT
25 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

The Bush administration has announced the decision temporarily to put off further talks with the Soviet Union on the limitation and termination of nuclear testing. This decision will apparently cause concern of everyone who favours progress in nuclear arms limitation.

It is widely known how much efforts the Soviet Union exerted to begin negotiations on the termination of nuclear tests. The United States has finally been persuaded to begin negotiations on this problem.

True, Washington makes the possibility of terminating nuclear tests conditional upon progress in other areas of disarmament. This is why the Soviet Union expressed the readiness to conduct stage-by-stage negotiations with the USA.

The protocols on verification of the 1974 treaty on the limitation of underground nuclear weapons tests (threshold test ban treaty) and the 1976 treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes (peaceful nuclear explosions treaty) are now being coordinated.

The United States has not ratified the treaties under the pretext that the verification mechanism is not reliable enough. When the protocols are coordinated both treaties can be referred to ratification.

Then it would be possible to pass on to the next stages on which it was agreed at the beginning of the talks. The sides would agree on the further intermediate limitations on nuclear testing, for the size and number of explosions, on the road to the ultimate goal, termination of nuclear testing as part of effective disarmament.

All of a sudden Washington refuses, if temporarily, from further advance in this important direction.

This, naturally, makes one recall that the Pentagon has been constantly objecting to the introduction of further restrictions on nuclear weapon tests and to the ultimate goal of the negotiations.

The question arises if this decision is not a result of the pressure of the military agency which is seeking to drag out the discussion or even to bury the problem.

When this question was put to a high-ranking western diplomat in Moscow, he answered that one need not be concerned nor "dramatise the situation". He said that Washington apparently wishes to see how the earlier concluded treaties are operating, which will make it possible to accumulate experience for further progress.

One would like to hope that this artificial delay at the talks will not last too long, and, the main thing, that this

should not become the precedent for other negotiations on arms limitation and reduction. It is particularly dangerous to slow down the pace of the disarmament process at this point, when there are objective opportunities to overcome stereotypes of the past and to achieve real military-political stability, to consolidate mutual confidence.

Reports on Vienna Seminar on Military Doctrines

19 Jan Working Meeting

*PM2501143190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 21 Jan 90 First Edition p 3*

[Report by Captain 1st Rank V. Kuzar, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent: "First Stage Complete"]

[Text] Vienna, 19 Jan—A working meeting of the chiefs of General Staff of the Warsaw Pact members armed forces has been held within the framework of the seminar on military doctrines currently running in Vienna. They reaffirmed their countries' commitment to their Warsaw Pact commitments. They also stress this point when setting out their national military doctrines.

For example, Major General A. Slimak, chief of General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army, told the seminar: "When safeguarding our country's defense, we have proceeded from the peaceful development in Europe and throughout the world and also from the efforts being made in the interests of arms reductions and disarmament. In this respect we are guided by the responsibilities incumbent on Czechoslovakia as a member of the Warsaw Pact. We have an interest in ensuring that these responsibilities are based on the principles of equality and noninterference in our state's internal affairs. We will strive to ensure that both military-political alliances join the process of creating all-European security structures."

Neutral and nonaligned countries are playing an increasingly active role in the development of the all-European process. In particular, they supported the Warsaw Pact initiative to hold a seminar on military doctrines. Every day, several representatives of this group of states set out their national military doctrines at the seminar. And, every time, journalists covering the work of the seminar show interest in them. That is understandable. After all, these are countries which have been neutral and pursuing a policy of nonalignment for a long time. Some of them have fairly large armed forces. The military potential of others is not so impressive. And there are some which have no armed forces at all. Whatever the case, these countries have their own views on military building and military activity.

January 19 saw the end of the first stage of the seminar, which has involved chiefs of General Staff. The discussion of specific issues concerning military building and armed forces activity, the conceptual basis of the principle of defense sufficiency, and other problems will soon

be continued. Work will be continued in the interests of creating a common European home and all-European security.

Moiseyev Return to Moscow

PM2501143190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 21 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Return to Moscow"]

[Text] On 20 January, Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, returned to Moscow from Vienna, where he has been taking part in the work of a seminar on military doctrines within the framework of the talks on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe.

Talks on Troop Withdrawal From CSSR Continue

LD2201202390 Prague CTK in English
1830 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow Jan 22 (CTK correspondent)—Preparations for the second round of talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia were discussed here today between Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboimov and deputy head of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry's First Territorial Department Zdenek Cerny.

The first round of the Czechoslovak-Soviet talks on the withdrawal of troops started in Prague on January 15.

Zdenek Cerny said Czechoslovakia wishes to open the second round as soon as possible so that an agreement on the withdrawal may be signed in the nearest future.

The Soviet side approaches the issues in a constructive manner and regards the pull-out of troops as indispensable, Zdenek Cerny told CTK. The Soviet side has not yet confirmed that the withdrawal would take place by 1990 nor has it rejected this deadline.

The talks at the Soviet Foreign Ministry will continue on Tuesday.

Soviet Military Inspectors Arrive in Belgium

LD2501014790 Moscow TASS in English 2344 GMT
24 Jan 90

[Text] Brussels January 25 TASS—Soviet military inspectors arrived in the Belgian capital on Wednesday [24 January] to inspect facilities covered by the Soviet-U.S. treaty banning intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

The facilities include a U.S. airforce base in Florennes and the European centre for the repair and servicing of cruise missiles at Gosselies, near Charleroi.

American nuclear missiles, deployed in Florennes, were taken to the United States for elimination in December 1988.

According to the Belgian Defence Ministry, a certain number of cruise missiles without warheads has remained only at Gosselies.

Under the treaty, the Gosselies Centre will operate until all American missiles are withdrawn from Europe.

U.S. Military Policy in Europe Scored

PM2501155190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 20 Jan 90 First Edition p 5

[Article by Major General A. Politsyn: "New Thinking and Old Approaches to Solution of Problems of Reducing Military Confrontation in Europe"]

[Text] The outcome of meetings and contacts, particularly at the top level, among representatives of the USSR and the United States and also a number of European countries inspires the hope that military confrontation in Europe may be reduced. The rapprochement of Warsaw Pact and NATO positions is based on awareness of the need to seek mutually acceptable measures to further improve the political climate on the continent. One can speak of the first results: Along with an awareness of the futility and the catastrophic consequences of using force there is a search under way for new forms of interstate relations on the enormous expanse of territory that stretches from the Atlantic to the Urals.

However, recent statements by a number of U.S. and NATO leaders are bound to cause a certain concern, since they indicate the retention of old approaches to solving the most important problems of European and general security.

What is the crux of these statements?

It is claimed, for example, that, despite the very rapid changes taking place in Eastern Europe, the nuclear and conventional potential of the Warsaw Pact, particularly that of the Soviet Union, will continue to pose a threat to NATO and that even if an agreement halving strategic offensive arms is reached, thousands of Soviet nuclear charges will be targeted on installations in Europe and America and pose a great danger to the Western alliance.

What can be said on this score?

First, the current quantitative-qualitative composition of the sides' strategic nuclear forces, despite some differences in the individual components of the nuclear triad, represents on the whole a state of parity. And this is officially acknowledged by both sides.

As far as halving strategic offensive arms is concerned, although this will mark a great victory for common sense, it will not supply a complete solution to the problem. The Soviet-proposed program of nuclear disarmament by the year 2000 therefore remains in force. The program is generally known. Given this, the desire in the West to create the impression that after strategic offensive armaments have been halved only Soviet missiles will pose a threat is only going to fool the gullible. Who

is unaware against whom the strategic nuclear weapons of the United States, Britain, and France will be targeted then, just as they are today.

Nor do attempts to present the matter as if the modernization of strategic nuclear forces by the Soviet Union and buildup of mobile missiles are virtually unilateral actions, while the similar systems possessed by the United States remain unchanged stand up to criticism. Yes, we are modernizing certain kinds of missile armaments, including mobile ICBM's, and are improving their performance, but the overall number of Soviet strategic delivery vehicles remains unchanged. In terms of the number of nuclear charges, however, the United States retains the edge, although on the whole the parity in these arms is not being disrupted.

Let us now look at what is being done by the Western side regarding modernization. The program for the development of U.S. and NATO strategic offensive forces envisages the deployment of mobile MX and Midgetman ICBM's, the construction of Ohio-class SSBN's equipped with Trident-2 SLBM's, the conversion of B-52 and B-1B bombers to carry cruise missiles, the production of new B-2 strategic bombers (employing Stealth technology), the reequipping of British SSBN's with American Trident-2 SLBM's, and the refitting of French nuclear missile-carrying submarines. Moreover, the development of ABM systems employing space-based elements is being actively conducted in the United States and improved long-range air- and sea-launched cruise missiles are being created. As we can see, the modernization of U.S. and NATO strategic armaments is taking place on a broad front.

But what is the position regarding the siting of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe?

As people will know, at the present time the actual correlation of tactical nuclear systems may be described as rough equality from an aggregate standpoint. In terms of tactical missile launchers the Warsaw Pact has the edge (with 1,608 as opposed to 136), while so far as tactical nuclear aircraft are concerned it is NATO that has the advantage (4,075 strike aircraft as against 2,783). In terms of nuclear artillery the forces are roughly equal and include more than 6,000 pieces on each side. In all each alliance has roughly 10,000 tactical nuclear systems.

The Warsaw Pact states, aware that, with the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, tactical systems become the most dangerous weapons, have proposed, along with the talks on armed forces and conventional arms, to hold separate talks initially on the mutual reduction of tactical nuclear weapons and then on their complete elimination. And moreover they have proposed that these talks not be linked together into a single negotiating package but that consultations regarding preparation for talks on reducing these nuclear systems be started immediately.

As far as U.S. and NATO approaches to this problem are concerned, they are not clear-cut. At present seven NATO members—the FRG, Belgium, Greece, Denmark, Spain, Italy, and Norway—oppose the immediate modernization of tactical nuclear weapons and instead favor its postponement until 1992 and the holding of talks with Warsaw Pact countries to reduce these weapons. They are opposed, as it were, by certain other countries, above all the United States and Britain, which are committed to the concept of “nuclear deterrence.” Rejecting the idea of a nuclear-free Europe, they are replacing the broad concept of “tactical nuclear weapons in Europe” with the far from identical and significantly narrower concept of “short-range nuclear missiles in Europe.” The aim of the substitution is plain: To push through the plans to modernize and stockpile their tactical nuclear missiles while inducing the Warsaw Pact to cut its own kind of armaments unilaterally. And prevent the NATO advantage in tactical strike aircraft being affected.

There is yet another aspect which should not be overlooked. In an interview in the West German magazine, DIE WELT, last December U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney stressed the growing role of “reserve components” (the American units and formations intended to reinforce troops in Europe) after the Vienna agreements on conventional armed forces become a reality. As is well known, the West's position on this problem is not to count the arms and military hardware stockpiled in Europe intended for the use of the reserves shipped in from across the Atlantic in the appropriate levels and sublevels. What is going on here? Why do our opponents at the talks defend such a position?

They are well aware that as a result of the implementation of the Vienna agreements the strategic groupings of the joint armed forces of NATO and those of the Warsaw Pact will be capable of carrying out mainly tasks of a defensive nature. To carry out large-scale operations the NATO forces would require to be reinforced by their so-called “reserve components.” From this standpoint the call to increase their role in NATO strategy is a desire to sidestep the Vienna agreements, giving the West one-sided advantages. It is not difficult to appreciate that such a stance would nullify the efforts of the sides at the talks and could lead in the future to the maintenance of confrontation and mutual distrust in Europe.

What is this stance that endangers Europe and the world based on? Primarily the geostrategic factor, which is allegedly unfavorable to reinforcing NATO Armed Forces with reserves from the United States. The Warsaw Pact reserves are close at hand, while NATO reserves are located far away across the ocean. And therefore in the event of armed conflict in Europe the USSR and its allies would, it is claimed, receive necessary reinforcements far more quickly than their adversaries.

Let us try to work out who is really favored by the military-geographical factor and to what extent.

First, the agreement envisages parity in conventional armaments in the area stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals. And this means that in the event of troops stationed beyond the Urals being brought in for use in the Western sector they would have to cover a distance of 5,000-10,000 km, including numerous mountain ranges and the system of rivers and reservoirs of Siberia and Eastern Europe. In conditions of a general mobilization of the country's armed forces from a peacetime to a war footing 1-2 months will be required for this maneuver.

For comparison: Reserves in "far-off America" are 5,000-6,000 km from European ports. To ship and airlift them to Europe the United States possesses a large number of military and civil transporters. The U.S. and NATO Navies, which are several times larger than the Warsaw Pact Navies, could effect these transfers. More than 1 million men can be shipped to Europe in the space of a month. The program of advance stockpiling of material resources and armaments for formations and units shipped from the United States will enable their grouping in Europe to be reinforced in the first 10 days by 6 divisions and several tactical aircraft squadrons. Similar programs are being carried out by other NATO countries too, for example, Britain and Canada. The employment in the west of those armed forces of the USSR that are stationed beyond the Urals, however, is problematical for the reason that their strictly defensive composition is designed to solve tasks in the interests of defending the eastern and southern borders of our

country. It is well known that the U.S. Armed Forces have no such problems on the American Continent.

Second, West Europe is an ideal region from the standpoint of the mobilized deployment of troops, having a high density of population, industry, and communications on a relatively small territory. All this in conjunction with the developed military infrastructure, well-oiled system for training reserves, systematic mobilization exercises, and powerful military-economic potential enables the peacetime group of forces to be increased several times over in 10-15 days, giving it a strike offensive character. That is the way things really stand with the geostrategic factor.

There is no denying that after the long cold war period the two sides are entitled to display vigilance and caution, particularly in questions concerning their security. But if old postures are stubbornly maintained here in a bid to secure one-sided advantages, the process of cutting armed forces and armaments and lowering the level of military confrontation will falter.

The profound changes affecting the whole world and particularly Europe are helping to fundamentally tackle the problems of strengthening the security of the peoples, consolidating peace on the continent, and disposing of its stockpiles of arms. This requires the repudiation of patently out-moded approaches to solving the problems of European and general security which the new political thinking dictates.

Nikolay Ryzhkov Assesses CEMA's Future

*PM2601085090 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
21 Jan 90 pp 1, 12*

[Interview with Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of Council of Ministers and head of delegation to 45th session of Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, by Alexander Drabkin of NOVOSTI Press Agency—date, place not given]

[Text] Question: The rapid political changes going on in CEMA member-countries were reflected in the composition of their delegations to the current session. How did you feel in the company of your new fellow prime ministers?

Answer: The changes taking place in CEMA member-countries have brought new people to the fore. The youngest cabinet head at the Sofia session (I mean his experience, not his age) had held the post for four weeks; I happened to be the oldest with four years' experience, which isn't much either. In the past, prime minister of CEMA countries were all members of communist or workers' parties. Now the situation has changed. About half the delegation heads at this session were non-communists. I cannot say unequivocally that political diversity hasn't had any negative effects on our performance. But we have established good relations. We have been able to find a common language. Indeed, the atmosphere at the session was fine. I was pleased to note that the head of the Romanian delegation Petre Roman felt compelled to express his satisfaction with the comparatively respectful atmosphere. (Petre Roman is new to CEMA and his fresh view on things is very interesting). We held many bilateral meetings in a businesslike atmosphere of mutual respect. There was not a hint at confrontation during either the bilateral or the plenary meetings.

Question: Just before the session, some media analysts were predicting the imminent collapse of CEMA. What did the session reveal? Has CEMA really accumulated enough negative energy for a "critical mass" to explode?

Answer: Before the session, the Western press wrote a lot about CEMA's breaking up because nobody wanted it. To a certain extent, the negative publicity was due to statements by certain responsible officials from CEMA member-countries. According to my information, one of Czechoslovakia's ministers on a visit to Warsaw made a statement interpreted by the Western press in exactly that light. Here in Sofia we asked the minister in the presence of Czechoslovakia's cabinet head to what extent the Western interpretation has been correct. He said he was misunderstood, that his words were misinterpreted. Anyway, this set off a Western propaganda campaign.

The question of disbanding CEMA was not an issue. There was nothing of that sort. Everybody understands how closely we are connected with one another. Of course, there are those who say that if the new, reorganized Council fails to appeal to this or that country, it will reserve the right to join or not join. I think this is the most legitimate attitude, nothing to be frightened about. If the new Charter proves unacceptable to a country, it is up to that country whether or not to participate. There was much talk about CEMA's stability. In between sittings I was literally besieged by journalists, all of them asking virtually the same question, whether or not CEMA will break down. I believe, unequivocally, that we have saved CEMA - and done the right thing. In this new capacity, CEMA will be a handy tool for integration. No one can ignore integrational processes today. The whole world is integrating itself. It would be a grave mistake to allow our integrational alliance to break down. Look at the world map: the Asian and the Pacific regions are showing a tendency to integrate. The same tendency is true of America and Western Europe. Why should we indeed run counter to these global processes?

Question: Does this mean that constructive tendencies received a vote of confidence in the atmosphere of pluralism and dialogue?

Answer: Problems exist, no doubt, because each country is defending its own interests. This is natural. But the general principles we have brought to the delegates' attention make it possible to build a foundation for effective future work. At a recent session in Prague Lubomir Strougal, the then head of the Czechoslovak delegation, and I started a dialogue during which we departed from our prepared texts to analyze the basic tendencies in CEMA activities. Afterwards we asked for the transcript of the discussion. There was none. CEMA had got so used to monologues by speakers reading prepared texts that their records consisted of written statements alone. This time in Sofia we discussed concrete problems, criticized one another, tried to convince one another - in short, had a normal discussion. One cannot do otherwise now. It is not enough to read prepared speeches and shake hands.

Question: What should the Soviet national economy do to support these positive CEMA tendencies? Will you discuss this question in the Politburo?

Answer: I will certainly report to the Politburo. Many questions are bound to arise. After that, I think, we shall once again go carefully through the decisions made in Sofia. A very serious programme is to be prepared on their basis. Its main idea is not to waste 1990: the year that will determine everything. If we stop the economic decline, if we reverse the economic deterioration situation and begin improving it, people will believe in the reality of a good future. Then the going will be easier in the Soviet Union and in the other CEMA countries.

Reportage on Gerasimov Press Briefing**Azerbaijan Situation***LD2501175190 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT
25 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—Informing journalists on the situation in Azerbaijan, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said that evacuations from Baku have been halted at the request of the Azerbaijan popular front. The move has been taken on conditions that "nothing will happen to the people who were to be evacuated," he noted.

The blockade of Baku harbour was lifted by the landing of troops on the two ships that directed the blockade, Gerasimov revealed. The ships were seized by landing troops without a single shot from their side, Gerasimov stressed. A large number of bank savings- books were found on the ships.

Gerasimov then dwelt on the meeting held today between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Moncef el-May, first representative of the League of Arab States to the USSR, who passed him a letter of accreditation from League General-Secretary Chadli Klibi.

Gerasimov informed newsmen that Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev received John W. Lewis, director of the International Strategic Institute at Stanford University, and the group of American scientists accompanying him. They arrived in Moscow to attend a session of the Soviet-American working group on enhancing peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region.

The sides spoke out for early consultations among states to establish military detente in the region.

Gerasimov also said that first deputy foreign minister of the USSR Aleksandr Bessmertnykh received on January 24 Naser Heirani-Nobari, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran, at the latter's request. The ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran, at the latter's request. The ambassador passed him a message to Eduard Shevardnadze from Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

During the talk Bessmertnykh and Naser Heirani-Nobari focused on the situation on the Soviet-Iranian border. They expressed, in part, mutual desire to develop cross-border commercial, economic, cultural and humanitarian ties.

Mutalibov Election*LD2501163790 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1518 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jan (TASS)—Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate, officially confirmed today at a briefing that Ayaz Mutalibov, who is the head of the republic's government, was elected first secretary of the Central Committee at a plenum of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee held late Wednesday evening.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said that Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, who had previously held the post of first secretary of Azerbaijan's Communist Party Central Committee and had been relieved this week of the leadership of the republic's party organization, had not attended the plenum due to illness. According to the available information, the primary organization of the apparatus of the Central Committee of Azerbaijan's Communist Party had expelled Vezirov from the ranks of the CPSU. In keeping with the party's rules, however, this decision has to be ratified by higher party bodies.

Gennadiy Gerasimov reported that, according to information which possibly needed to be more precisely defined, the evacuation of Baku had been stopped at the request of the People's Front of Azerbaijan. It had been stopped under the guarantee "that nothing would happen to the people whom they were getting ready to evacuate," he noted.

Replying to a question about lifting the blockade of Baku port, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said that according to the information he had, assaults were launched on the two vessels in charge of the blockade in the course of the operation. The vessels were seized by the assault forces without a single shot being fired on their part, Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed. A "huge quantity" of savings books made out to the bearer were discovered on the ships.

Replying to a question related to the Soviet-Iranian border, Gennadiy Gerasimov said control had been established throughout the 720 km of the Soviet-Iranian border.

GDR Premier's Visit*LD2601133690 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT
26 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—The prime minister of the German Democratic Republic, Hans Modrow, will pay a working visit to Moscow later this month at the Soviet Government's invitation, Soviet spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a news briefing today.

According to Gerasimov, Modrow will hold talks with his Soviet counterpart Nikolay Ryzhkov and is likely to meet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The talks are expected to focus on international and bilateral issues, and relations between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR and the FRG.

The programme of the visit is now being planned, Gerasimov said.

Support for Najibullah Plan*LD2501171790 Moscow TASS in English 1708 GMT
25 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—Consistently favouring a political settlement in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has repeatedly expressed its support for President Najibullah's plan to find a peaceful solution to the conflict, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

Speaking at a news conference in Kabul on Wednesday, Najibullah reaffirmed that his programme to resolve the conflict was not set in concrete. On the contrary, it can develop, become more specific and expand the possibility of reaching a compromise, he said.

The Soviet spokesman said that the USSR regards the possibility of granting all Afghan political forces, inside and outside the country, the chance to take part in a national dialogue to establish peace as a key provision of the Najibullah plan.

The opposition's demands that Afghanistan's legitimate government and president be excluded from a political settlement illustrate its unrealistic approach to the entire issue, Gerasimov said.

The Afghan leadership favours talks without any preconditions so that all demands and suggestions by the sides could be discussed democratically, he pointed out.

"Representatives of all political organisations and groups can make their contribution to bring peace to the country," Gerasimov said, adding that this equally applied to former Afghan King Zahir Shah.

Havel Summit Proposal

*LD2501224890 Prague CTK in English 1640 GMT
25 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow Jan 25 (CTK correspondent)—Prague is a beautiful city but it is obviously better to organize working Soviet-U.S. summits alternatively on the territories of these two countries, Soviet Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told CTK here today, reacting to the proposal of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to convene the next Soviet-U.S. summit in Prague.

He stressed that this is a preliminary stand as nobody has officially given such a proposal to the Soviet Union and the United States. Gennadiy Gerasimov said that U.S. President George Bush had reacted similarly at a press conference yesterday.

Military Writer Bogachev on Open Skies Plan

*LD2501231490 Moscow TASS in English 1920 GMT
25 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

The Soviet Union favours the conclusion of an agreement on open skies, believing it will promote the consolidation of strategic stability and drastically decrease the likelihood of a surprise attack.

Under that agreement all Warsaw Treaty and NATO member-countries would have an opportunity to use unarmed planes for the observation of the territories of other countries in Europe, America and Asia.

The aim of the flights will be to ensure openness in the military area, consolidate mutual confidence and complicate preparation for a surprise attack.

Inspections under the open skies plan may supplement verification of the observance of international agreements on arms limitation and reduction.

An international conference on the open skies plan opens in Ottawa on February 12. During the next round of talks, in Budapest, an agreement is expected to be signed.

Talks between representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States and Canada were held prior to the conference.

Under the initial arrangements, members of the two military alliances receive the right to make an equal number of overflights per month.

The sides will announce the planned flights and their routes several hours before takeoff.

Representatives of a country over whose territory observation is conducted can be on board the plane.

A list of sensors and recording equipment which should not be installed on board the plane is to be agreed upon. This will preclude the possibility of the flights being used for the collection of intelligence information.

The consultations showed that the three countries agree on fundamental aspects of the problem of open skies.

There were some differences, though. Western representatives did not agree to the Soviet proposal for inspection flights over bases of participating countries in foreign territories.

Meanwhile, 50,000 U.S. servicemen are stationed close to the Soviet Union, in Japan, which is not a NATO member.

Large U.S. military facilities are situated in Japan. They include an airforce base for F-16 planes. In addition nuclear-armed U.S. naval ships call at Japanese ports.

The Soviet side would be unable to inspect U.S. military bases in this vast region because Japan is not a NATO member. This approach of the United States is not in keeping with the requirements of equal security.

There were also other differences. The Soviet Union proposed that the data received from all inspection flights be accessible to all parties to the future treaty. It suggested the setting up of a common fleet of planes and pool of instruments.

The Soviet side believes that such an agreement will strengthen confidence among the participants and help avoid misinformation in interpreting the data.

The United States and Canada opposed this Soviet proposal, insisting that each country use its own planes and equipment.

United States & Canada

President Bush's News Conference Reported

26 Jan IZVESTIYA

PM2501172190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Bush News Conference"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] U.S. President G. Bush held a news conference in Washington 24 January. The first question journalists asked him concerned the situation around Azerbaijan.

[Question] How serious for President Gorbachev is the crisis resulting from the national disturbances in Azerbaijan? What are his chances of withstanding this ordeal as well as the challenge thrown down by the Baltic?

[Answer] I believe that the answer to your question is becoming clearer every day. We don't really know what it is. This is a serious question. Gorbachev has always displayed a desire for restraint—for peaceful changes in the Soviet Union. I am referring to what he said about the Baltic. In this case he is faced with both an ethnic problem and an internal problem on a gigantic scale.

But I cannot make forecasts on this subject. I hope that he will not only withstand this but also retain his power since I believe that the success and progress of perestroika are in our interests.

[Question] Don't you think that he has gone too far in using force in Baku?

[Answer] We are concerned every time force is used and people die. But I don't believe I can give an exhaustive answer to this question now.

[Question] You have spoken about the lifting of martial law in China. This gesture aside, what would you say about the situation? Are you worried by the fact that repressions are continuing?

[Answer] Yes, I am very concerned over the status quo. I was extremely alarmed during the Cultural Revolution when we established our first contacts with China. We acted correctly because, with the aid of these contacts, the West has witnessed China curing itself of the "Middle Kingdom" syndrome and making headway.

I believe I know enough to say that when someone in China takes two steps forward, someone later has to take a step back. Remember the history of Deng Xiaoping. He has been removed from office on three occasions—and a fourth is now under preparation. Someone might say: "The problems are partially to do with him." He has resigned. But it was he who began the reforms, especially in the economic sphere, which raised the Chinese people to a new level of prosperity.

Thus I am absolutely not prepared to resign myself to the status quo. China is well aware of my stance.

[Question] When you defend your policy on China you never mention the "China card." One gets the impression that you hate this expression despite the fact that, when Kissinger and Nixon implemented this policy, this was considered a brilliant foreign policy course—pitting the Chinese against the Soviets. If Gorbachev loses power and is replaced by Stalinists, don't you think you also should play the China card?

[Answer] I don't believe it's a matter of "playing cards." I think that saying this insults the Soviets and the Chinese without cause. This is insulting to both the Soviets and the Chinese. But one of the reasons I still want to be involved here is that geopolitical considerations, even in these unsatisfactory conditions, demand the maintenance of good relations or the improvement of relations. And it won't be easy to do this owing to human rights problems.

But I want to maintain some contacts. I want to retain contacts because if you look around, then look at Cambodia, look at Japan. Take a close look at the host of countries in the Pacific basin. China is a key player, and I would like to think that our steps will prompt them to make headway in the human rights sphere so that we can establish more normal relations with them.

[Question] Mr President, with regard to the Soviet Union, have you or any of your high-ranking staffers—I see that General Scowcroft is here—maintained contacts with Mr Gorbachev or with his people during the events in Baku in order to discuss how serious all this is?

[Answer] Certainly, we have been in contact with them. I don't recall when I last made contact with Gorbachev, but we did not specifically discuss the situation in Baku.

[Question] Allow me in this instance to develop this theme and ask you, if this is possible, to square the stance you have adopted to the effect that, as you say, you want Gorbachev to survive these difficulties and achieve success, with your attitude, on the other hand, to such parts of the Soviet Union as the Baltic republics, which you do not regard as part of the Soviet Union, and concerning which you have said that you share their desire to decide their own fate independently. So who is to achieve success—they or he?

[Answer] You know, I am going to repeat that the U.S. stance on this question is well known, and you have interpreted it correctly. We do, indeed, not recognize the status of the Baltic republics. However, I am saying that we support Gorbachev's stance according to which peaceful changes are the command of the times. He has come up against very complex domestic problems in those three Baltic countries. And I do not believe that it will help to rectify the situation if we try to anticipate events. They are aware of our position.

Incidentally, I discussed this with him in Malta. However, in view of what is happening in the Soviet Union, I believe that he is still fully committed to the concept of peaceful changes in the Baltic. This line must prevail.

[Question] Mr. President, President Jaruzelski of Poland recently proposed to the four great powers that they reaffirm, or guarantee anew, the inviolability of Polish borders, irrespective of what happens to Germany. Will the United States agree to such a confirmation of the inviolability of the borders?

[Answer] We have recognized the existing borders within the framework of the Helsinki agreement, and, I repeat, this was done without any ulterior motives. However, I simply cannot judge whether there is any need in this case for some sort of joint international action.

[Question] Mr. President, President Havel of Czechoslovakia proposed yesterday that a summit meeting between you and Mr. Gorbachev be held in Prague. Do you regard this as a good idea?

[Answer] Listen, I respect him highly and I am not trying to shrug off his proposal, but the venue for our summit has already been decided, we have a very complex agenda which I want to adhere to, and I have objectives which I want to achieve. Therefore it seems to me that at the moment the proposal as he has formulated it is not suitable. However, I was moved by this proposal and by the conditions which made it possible. Who could have dreamed, even a year ago, that conditions in Czechoslovakia would permit him freely to put forward such a proposal, and I was very moved by this. However, I do not believe that this proposal will be suitable for the next summit.

[Question] Mr. President, last time you answered questions here, you claimed that you had achieved success by seizing Noriega and ensuring the protection of Americans in Panama. However, what can you say to the Panamanians about the more than 200 Panamanian civilians who were killed as a result of this invasion? And also, do you plan to include in your Panama aid program, which has not yet been announced, any sort of compensation for the families of these people?

[Answer] As for the aid program, I am not sure about its details as this program has not yet been adopted. But I can tell them this: Yes, you have lost a certain number of your compatriots, completely innocent people have died. But nonetheless, 92 percent of the population of Panama have expressed resolute support for this U.S. action. Is that not an indication? I regret the death of totally innocent peaceful inhabitants of Panama or any other country, and, unquestionably, I mourn the death of U.S. citizens. It is necessary to express sympathy in this context, but we must also take a broader view. And then you have to.... I am very pleased about the resolute support of the Panamanian people—and then it is necessary to do what you believe is right. It is necessary to try to heal the wounds and compensate the damage.

TASS Account

LD2601001790 Moscow TASS in English 0000 GMT
26 Jan 90

[Text] Washington January 26 TASS—President George Bush on Thursday commended Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev for his handling of ethnic unrest in Azerbaijan.

He was speaking in a question and answer session with newspaper publishers at the White House.

Asked to comment on recent pessimistic statements of George Kennan and Zbigniew Brzezinski on the situation in the Soviet Union, Bush said he had already been asked to assess Gorbachev's performance on Wednesday and he had answered that he was hoping for Gorbachev's success.

"I think he has conducted himself in an extraordinarily difficult situation very well," Bush said of Gorbachev. "He remains committed to peaceful change, and I don't think anyone is faulting him for the difficulty he has encountered" in Azerbaijan.

"I think he has done a remarkable job," Bush noted.

The U.S. President expressed hope that the Soviet Union would be able to control the unrest and restore peace and quiet, and added that perestroika "can continue in the spirit of democracy".

TASS: Congress Overrides President's Veto

LD2501104190 Moscow TASS in English 1018 GMT
25 Jan 90

[Washington January 25 TASS—by TASS correspondent Stanislav Lunev]

[Text] Members of the United States House of Representatives on Wednesday override President George Bush's veto of a bill to allow Chinese students in the U.S. to remain in the country after their visas expire. This is the first time Congress has overridden a veto since Bush came to power.

On November 30 last year, the President vetoed the bill, which had been passed by both chambers of the Congress: 403 members of the House of Representatives supported it with no objections, and the Senate passed it without counting votes.

But the President vetoed it, saying that before the vote he had given instructions envisaging the majority of measures proposed by the legislature.

Congress' attempt to prolong Chinese students' stay in the U.S. was seen by the White House as interference in the executive power's affairs and an attempt to limit the Administration's power.

A two-thirds majority is necessary in both chambers of Congress in order to override a presidential veto. TASS was told in the House's press gallery that 390 members of

the House voted against the veto, only 25 supported it. The vote in the Senate will be held today.

U.S. Congressmen questioned, if not condemned, the administration's steps to achieve better relations with China. These relations are still negatively influenced by the White House's anti-Chinese sanctions taken in June of last year under congressional pressure, first and foremost on U.S.-Chinese cooperation in the military sphere.

The legislature has condemned the president for sending high ranking U.S. delegations to China. Some of those visits were kept secret from Congress.

U.S. Actions 'At Odds' With Talk of Peace

PM2501133190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Letter from reader N.S. Loginov under rubric "Dialogue: Reader Asks, Ponders, Disputes": "Can We Trust U.S. Administration?"]

[Text] Over the last few months, particularly since M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with G. Bush in Malta, the U.S. Administration has offered assurances of its desire for peace, the lessening of international tension, and the establishment of trust between states. President Bush himself, Secretary of State Baker, Defense Secretary Cheney, and other high-ranking officials are taking an active part in this.

But the U.S. Administration's practical actions are sharply at odds with its peaceful assurances. Can the U.S. support for the diehard opposition fighting against the Afghan people and also for the Nicaraguan Contras really indicate a desire for peace?

G. Bush's recent rejection of the Pentagon proposal to stop the round-the-clock combat air patrol of the U.S. Armed Forces command center against the eventuality of a nuclear war by no means attests to disarmament and the easing of international tension.

Nor does the intention to demolish the newly built U.S. Embassy complex in Moscow indicate U.S. trust in the Soviet Union.

Last, the premeditated blatant aggression against a peaceful sovereign state and UN member—Panama—in no way attests to the Bush administration's peaceful intentions.

U.S. actions cannot help prompting the question: Can we trust the Bush administration if it pays lip service to peace but actually works to stifle progressive states and peoples by flagrant force? Isn't "peaceful rhetoric" a screen whereby the U.S. Administration would like to lull the vigilance of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the countries of East Europe and compel us to unilaterally disarm, so it could then dictate to us its own terms for "peaceful coexistence"?

Perhaps I am mistaken in my categorical opinion? It would be pleasant to be mistaken.
N.S. Loginov, CPSU member since 1940, Vologda.

Military Dialogue Held With U.S. Representatives

PM2501105090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[N. Sautin report: "Unofficial Dialogue"]

[Text] A dialogue meeting between representatives of USSR and U.S. military circles took place in the Moscow region today. The subject of the meeting was "The Soviet-American Military-Strategic Balance: Changing Trends."

The initiator of the unofficial dialogue was the Center for International Security, headed by its president Joseph Churba. The American delegation included many politicians and military men, whose positions on the Soviet Union were only yesterday giving them the reputation of "hawks." But times change.... The Soviet generals' and admirals' guests included former U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, retired Vice Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, and retired Generals Paul Kelly and William Odom.

Major General Professor N. Chaldymov, president of the Soviet association "Army and Society," noted:

"If I was to try to find one word to describe the present state of our relations, including relations in the sphere of military policy, I think the word would be 'dialogue.' Formerly the art of knowing how to listen and understand each other was least popular of all among the military, for whom the tactics and strategy of combat operations was a substitute for the diplomacy of 'round-tables' and international symposiums. The present contacts between representatives of the Soviet and American armed forces continue the policy of peace."

Deputy Premier Laverov Receives Senator Gore

PM2501143390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, on 19 January received U.S. Senator A. Gore, who is in Moscow to participate in the "Global Forum on the Environment and Development for Survival." Possible areas of bilateral cooperation in the spheres of science, technology, environmental protection, and the elimination of the aftermath of natural disasters were discussed. Yu.A. Izrael, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology, participated in the talks.

Komplektov Says U.S. Action in Panama 'Error'

PM2601090290 Moscow *NEW TIMES* in English
9-15 Jan 90 p16

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Deputy Minister Viktor Komplektov by own correspondent Yuriy Kudimov in Managua; date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Viktor Komplektov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, said in his interview to *NEW TIMES* in Managua that the U.S. invasion to Panama was a grave political error. The White House, he said, continues to regard Latin America as its backyard. The U.S. once again set itself in the opposition to the peoples of Latin America.

N.T. [*NEW TIMES*] What could you say about the opinion that the Soviet-American rapprochement, in particular the Malta summit, gave a "green light" to aggressive American actions in Central America which led to the invasion of Panama?...

V.K. [Komplektov] I know such an opinion exists. Moreover, some people insist that the Soviet-American dialogue facilitates a tougher U.S. policy in the Third World. It is unclear what motives guide the authors of this "theory." If they just don't understand the essence of the Soviet foreign policy, it's one thing. In this case we diplomats and journalists are to blame for having failed to explain the objectives of new political thinking. Worse if those who are disseminating this version want to defame certain aspects of the Soviet foreign political course.

Shortly, the essence of new thinking is in seeking peaceful ways and methods of solving international problems. The Malta meeting helped the two superpowers move towards a better understanding of a number of global issues. Unfortunately, this can't be said about regional conflicts. We want to transfer the principles of new political thinking on regional conflicts as well.

N.T. In connection with the Panama crisis do you think the proposal of some Central American leaders aimed at a more active participation of the U.S. and the USSR in peaceful settlement in Central America is timely?

V.K. I wouldn't rush to putting the question like this. In my opinion, it is more important not to impede the Central American settlement. I shan't speak in detail of recent Soviet measures to promote this settlement. Suffice it to recall our decision to suspend arms supplies to Nicaragua. The Soviet Union responded positively to the appeal by the U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar to the United States, the Soviet Union and Cuba inviting them to take part in multilateral consultations on the Central American settlement.

Returning to the situation in Panama let's ask about the intentions of the U.S. contingent there. At the beginning

of the invasion Washington spoke of a speedy withdrawal. Similar forecasts were made after the U.S. invasion of Grenada in 1983, but U.S. troops stayed there for over a year. This time again Secretary of State Baker said it would be a mistake to set concrete dates of a withdrawal. It is only clear that the U.S. aggression against Panama created another hot spot on the political map of the world.

Removal of U.S. Bases in Philippines Urged

HK2501031890 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines
1300 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Many politicians, and the majority of Philippine newspapers, are demanding the removal of the American military bases in the country as a result of the pronouncements made by the Soviet Union about its military operations in Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam. Reports say that among these politicians is Senator Teofisto Guingona, Senate president pro tempore, who strongly opposes the retention of the military bases. Guingona says that in the face of worldwide changes which were influenced by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's policies, there is no reason why military bases like Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Base should continue to operate. He added that the United States should remove their military bases in the Philippines, in response to the Soviet Union's disarmament policy.

China

Sino-Soviet Economic Meeting Ends in Beijing

OW2601063190 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] A regular meeting of the Sino-Soviet Economic, Trade, and Scientific and Technological Cooperation Commission has ended in Beijing.

In a document summing up the meeting, both sides expressed satisfaction over the development of contacts between the two countries and pointed out the tremendous potential of continuing cooperation in the next few years. Both China and the Soviet Union wish to expand bilateral trade and establish cooperative enterprises.

Russian Republic, PRC Sign Protocol

OW2501120890 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 19 Jan 90

["Talk" by Tikhonov, deputy trade minister of the RSFSR]

[Text] [Male announcer] The volume of trade between the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and China reached 500 million Swiss francs in 1989. The RSFSR Ministry of Trade and its Chinese counterpart signed a cooperation protocol for 1990 in Beijing. Under this protocol, bilateral cooperation will be further expanded, and such cooperation will not be

limited to trade. The following is a talk by RSFSR Deputy Trade Minister Tikhonov on this subject:

[Tikhonov is briefly heard speaking in Russian, fading out after a few seconds] [Female announcer] He said: Our cooperation with China is not limited to trade. The RSFSR and some border provinces of China have set up joint ventures, including the building of hotels with joint investment. So far we have opened eight such hotels. The operations of those hotels are not the same—some of them earn foreign exchange by serving foreign tourists while others only accept rubles and Renminbi. The hotel service will be further expanded this year.

Tikhonov then said: In addition, we reached an agreement on scientific and technological cooperation during our recent talks with representatives of the Chinese Ministry of Trade. Under this agreement, we will jointly design and build several cold-storage facilities and a number of other projects in the Soviet Union and China.

[Male announcer] What do you think about the Ministry of Trade engaging in designing and construction?

[Female announcer] Tikhonov said: At first hearing, it seems to be surprising. However, we feel that our ministry cannot just consider its own interests. If we have funds, why can't we do something to satisfy the economic interests of the people of our country. Why can't we cooperate with China in building guesthouses and highways in border areas? Moreover, the conditions of roads are not so good in places of our Chinese friends, and means of transportation are inadequate. Thus, in border areas there is some difficulty in transporting goods from our country. This is a major obstacle to the expansion of trade between the RSFSR and China. It should be understood that we have a great potential to tap in this regard. This is why we are working together to seek new ways of cooperation. This will create favorable conditions for the expansion of trade between the RSFSR and China.

Arms Industry's Civilian Output Role Discussed

*PM2501161590 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 23 Jan 90 First Edition p3*

[TASS report: "On Conversion in China"]

[Text] Beijing, 22 Jan—The PRC arms industry must steadily implement a policy to combine the manufacturing of military goods and consumer goods. This was discussed at a sector working conference of the leaders of arms industry enterprises held in the Chinese capital.

In the 4 decades that have passed since the formation of the PRC, the country has completed the first stage of forming and developing the arms industry. It has created a relatively integrated system of conducting research and experimental design work, and of testing prototypes of weapons and military hardware and putting them into series production.

The second stage has now begun. It is characterized by the creation of facilities for the series production of civilian goods at defense enterprises. These goods now account for some 60 percent of the arms industry's gross output.

China's defense industry began to "restructure" away from purely military production in 1978, when economic reforms began to be implemented in the country. More than 10 years' experience of conversion have shown that combining military and civilian production at defense enterprises is the only way to develop the arms industry, the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO observed. It is precisely in this period that the sector has developed fairly rapidly. A new generation of weapons and hardware has come into operation in the Army.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Commentary on Present Philippine Situation

*HK2601044090 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines
1300 gmt 25 Jan 90*

[Commentary by Dmitry Volskiy]

[Text] In my opinion, the present situation in the Philippines can be encapsulated in three ways. First is the need for the expeditious improvement of the economy, by means of a system followed by other Asian countries facing grave difficulties. Second is the issue of a foreign military presence—in this case belonging to the United States—which impinges on the whole question of the region's security. Third is the unstable political situation, brought about by the last coup attempt in the country.

This condition in the Philippines is likewise reflected in many other Asian countries. These three factors are intertwined and are pertinent throughout the Asian region.

This coming March and April, talks will be held in Manila between the Philippines and the United States on the matter of the military bases, whose lease expires in 1991. In this regard, many Filipinos—senators, newspapers and a large part of the population—are calling for the removal of the military bases.

While the Aquino government has not taken an official position on this matter, it has recently expressed dismay over Washington's failure to abide by its financial obligation to Manila, as spelled out in the 1988 Memorandum of Agreement. Some quarters have brought up this issue by stressing financial problems presently besetting the U.S. Government. However there have been other comments on this issue, such as that made by Senator Wigberto Tanada who is one of those opposing the retention of the military bases. Tanada says that the slowdown of the payment by the United States is a tactic by the Americans who are trying to push aside the issue of the talks, particularly the question of whether it is really necessary to retain the military bases after 1991.

All the high expectations raised after President Aquino visited the United States last year have now turned to disappointment and bitterness. All this can be easily discerned if we look back to news reports after the recent coup attempt. According to the DAILY GLOBE, before some military elements launched their attack, the United States turned down a request by the Armed Forces of the Philippines for some anti-tank missiles. This was followed by an announcement from Washington warning American citizens against visiting the Philippines, unless on official business in Manila.

Despite a declaration by Armed Forces Chief General Renato de Villa that it is not easy to implicate the CIA in connection with the recent coup attempt, it has been confirmed that Washington held back information it had about the impending coup d'etat. This was done to weaken the Aquino government's position, especially since the military bases negotiations were due to start.

It is obvious that the Americans will employ all manner of maneuvers to exert pressure on the Philippines. But it will find that it cannot easily impose its will on all the countries of Southeast Asia. By means of its customary use of force to dominate the region, the United States is trying to strengthen its hand, both economically and militarily. The result of all this is to produce unstable political situations, especially in the developing countries. This is a clear illustration of such machinations.

It is imperative to improve the economies of the Asian-Pacific countries; therefore moves involving discrimination and protectionism must be done away with, and a climate of mutual consideration cemented. In this way, the security of the region can be assured, and a gradual process of demilitarization can take place.

In this regard, Mikhail Gorbachev's pronouncements in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk called for the normalization of the situation in the region, which is what the Soviet Union envisions. His declaration spoke of plans to dismantle the Soviet military base in Cam Ranh Bay, and he called for the similar dismantling of the American military bases in the Philippines. And even though the Americans have not complied with this wish, the Soviet Union has already removed its fighter planes from Vietnam.

According to Senator Teopisto Guingona, Philippine Senate President Protempore, events in the world and the results of Mikhail Gorbachev's policies show that the retention of military bases in the Philippines is no longer valid. He stated that it is now time for the United States to remove its military bases in response to the Soviet disarmament initiative.

Philippine Senator Lauds Cam Ranh Reduction

*HK2601043690 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines
1300 gmt 25 Jan 90*

[Text] The reduction of the Soviet military presence in Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam, has resulted in a lessening of

tension in the Asia-Pacific region. This was declared by Senator Leticia Ramos-Shahani, head of the Philippine Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. In making this declaration, the senator said most emphatically that it is time for the Philippines to call for the removal of the American military bases from the country.

Proposal for U.S. Observer Team in Burma Viewed

*BK2601105590 Moscow in Burmese to Burma
1430 GMT 26 Jan 90*

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] According to a report from news agencies in Washington, U.S. lawmakers are planning to press President George Bush to dispatch an observer team to monitor the multiparty general elections in Myanmar [Burma]. A Moscow Radio observer comments on the report as follow:

The proposal was made by Daniel Moynihan, who has sponsored a number of resolutions on the situation in Myanmar. He presented the proposal in connection with the rejection of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the most prominent opposition leader in Myanmar, as a candidate for the general elections scheduled in Myanmar this May. It has been learned that the U.S. Senate is likely to discuss the matter on sending U.S. observers to Myanmar next week. It is still too early to predict how the members of the Senate will decide on the matter. However, the presentation of the matter itself raises many questions in the minds of observers.

For instance, it could be asked why Moynihan, who has openly declared that the case can clearly be made today that elections in Myanmar cannot be free or honest, would want to send observers to that country. There is another question as to why the United States should give help for the elections after Washington refused to give economic aid, and announced it has no faith in the military government politically. Does Moynihan really think the military government, which he has branded as a dictatorial government, would allow the U.S. observers to enter Myanmar? It can be surmised that Moynihan's initiative was aimed at (?antagonizing) the Yangon [Rangoon] government. If so, it appears that such a step is taken to demonstrate the special role of the U.S. in establishing democracy in Third World countries.

It is true that the situation in Myanmar has become complicated following the rejection of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's candidacy, which has caused concerns among those who had believed that General Saw Maung's government would honor its own pledges. However, pressure exerted from outside can not in anyway contribute to the cause of democracy inside Myanmar. Furthermore, it will be necessary to take into consideration how the United States, in giving assistance to the cause of democracy in other countries, can easily turn its declarations into actions as has been seen in the Philippines and Panama.

Our Moscow Radio observer concludes by saying that it will be necessary to avoid applying external pressure on Myanmar, as this could bring about undesirable results in the end.

Yazov Greets Lao's Siphandon on Army Anniversary

*PM2501155790 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 20 Jan 90 First Edition p 1*

[Message of greetings from Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister, to Army General Khamtai Siphandon, Lao defense minister]

[Text] To Army General Khamtai Siphandon, Lao People's Democratic Republic defense minister

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces, and on my own behalf, I congratulate you and all Lao servicemen cordially on the 41st anniversary of the Lao People's Army.

Welcoming the further development of ties between our peoples and armed forces, Soviet servicemen express their readiness to continue to strengthen friendship between the fraternal armies in the interests of ensuring peace and security in Southeast Asia, the Asian and Pacific region, and the whole world.

I wish you and all the Lao People's Army personnel new successes in strengthening the country's defense capability and fulfilling the tasks set by the Fourth Lao People's Revolutionary Party Congress.
Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

Near East & South Asia

Caucasus Events' Impact on Iranian Ties Mused

*NC2501125890 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT
25 Jan 90*

[Text] Dear listeners, we have asked Radio Moscow analyst Aleksandr Batyev to comment on the impact the incidents in the Soviet Caucasus have had on Soviet-Iranian relations.

[Begin Batyev recording in Russian fading into Persian] I think that these incidents are unfavorable both for Moscow and for Tehran. Bilateral relations between the two countries just improved recently and started expanding. But it was not long before the situation in Soviet areas neighboring Iran deteriorated. The danger is that some of the nationalist demonstrators are trying to give an international color to a domestic conflict. It is only sufficient to recall the destruction of border installations on part of the Soviet border with Iran, or the entry of large groups of Soviet Azerbaijanis into Iranian territory.

I think that the strength of Soviet-Iranian relations and the two countries' faithfulness to the fundamental principles of relations between them are being put to a test. If

Moscow and Tehran pass this test, our bilateral relations will not be weakened; rather, they will be further strengthened.

[Announcer] What steps do you think are necessary for this?

[Batyev, speaking in Russian fading into Persian translation] First and foremost, a sagacious, thoughtful, and cautious approach is necessary, both when assessing the current situation and when considering the steps that are being taken. For example, I have noted that some circles in Tehran are trying to portray the incidents in the Caucasus and, especially, the arrival of troops in the Azerbaijani capital Baku, as specific pressures on the Soviet Muslims. I think that such interpretations have nothing in common with reality. Radio Moscow listeners have heard reports during the past few years that more and more mosques are being opened in the Soviet Union. Soviet Muslims are receiving religious books from foreign countries without any obstacles, and it was announced that 1.5 million copies of the holy Koran will be made available in the near future. The followers of Islam in the Soviet Union are now more able to carry out pilgrimages to holy shrines abroad. They have gained access to the Muslims' holy shrines in Iran under the aegis of improved Soviet-Iranian relations. As repeatedly pointed out by the Iranian press, all these positive changes in the lives of the Soviet Muslims have taken place thanks to the reforms undertaken during the term of office of Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union's new leader, and are the outcome of the policy of perestroika which is being implemented at his initiative. Thus, the followers of Islam in Tehran should understand that the process of perestroika in the Soviet Union fully conforms with the objectives that they declare. Unfortunately the current incidents in the republics of the Soviet Caucasus are inflicting heavy blows on the process of perestroika. The sooner the negative consequences of these incidents are removed, the better it will be for the implementation of positive changes in the Soviet Union and especially in the lives of the Soviet Muslims. Meanwhile, the arrival of the troops in Baku was necessary precisely for this reason.

[Announcer] But the incidents in the Soviet Caucasus have another aspect as far as Soviet-Iranian relations are concerned; that is, border regulations, trade, and the establishment of border contacts (?among people).

[Batyev speaking in Russian fading into Persian translation] Fortunately these problems are easier to solve. As a result of Soviet-Iranian talks in Moscow recently, the border between the two countries is gradually ceasing to be a separating line and is becoming a line which connects two countries and nations that are living on either side. Border issues are being rapidly solved under the aegis of the new atmosphere created in Soviet-Iranian relations after the meeting last year between Mikhail Gorbachev and 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the leaders of the two countries. This atmosphere is characterized by a well-intentioned approach toward

each other's problems, attention to the mutual interests of both sides, and a positive solution of problems that emerge. Of course, this atmosphere should be preserved since this is to the benefit of both nations.

Arab Papers Cited on Azerbaijan Situation

*LD2501130390 Moscow TASS in English 1247 GMT
25 Jan 90*

[Text] Abu Dhabi January 25 TASS—The United Arab Emirates newspaper AL-ITTIHAD describes the declaration of a state of emergency in some areas of Azerbaijan as a logical and justifiable move.

In the newspaper's opinion, the centre's failure to take resolute measures would have meant disregard for the interests of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples and connivance with those who juggle with their destinies.

Writing today about the situation in Azerbaijan, the newspaper notes that the present conditions in the USSR were used by extremists to kindle intestinal [as received] strife, hatred between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, subversion of local authorities, blockade of economic projects, and actions against law enforcement bodies.

AL-ITTIHAD notes that the state of emergency will help stop the bloodshed and ensure human rights in the republic, above all the right to life.

Cairo January 25 TASS—The decision to use force to stop ethnic clashes between Azerbaijanis and Armenians graphically shows the Soviet people that perestroika does not mean a licence to subvert Soviet statehood, the newspaper AL-AHRAM writes today.

The newspaper stressed that the present developments in Baku are a sincere attempt to end violence, removing, thereby, the threat of a civil war between Azerbaijanis and Armenians.

Shevardnadze Meets Arab League Representative

*LD2501141690 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1300 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jan (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of Foreign Affairs, today received Moncef el-May, first representative of the Arab League in the USSR, who handed over a letter from Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the Arab League, accrediting him in this position.

In the friendly conversation that followed, E. Shevardnadze and ambassador M. el-May exchanged views on a wide range of international problems, primarily on the situation in the Near East.

M. el-May spoke about the Arab League leadership's desire to develop broad and multifaceted cooperation with the Soviet Union. He highly appraised Soviet policy

directed toward unblocking situations of conflict in the Near East region and turning the region from the confrontation to a search for ways to establish peace, security, and neighborliness.

E. Shevardnadze noted the important role of the Arab League in consolidating the Arab countries on the platform of a peaceful political settlement to the conflicts in this region, primarily the Arab-Israeli and Iran-Iraq conflicts, and stated his support for the efforts being undertaken by the league of this direction. Both sides stressed the positive development of Soviet-Arab relations, both on a bilateral basis and in terms of cooperation in achieving a just and comprehensive Near Eastern settlement and lowering the level of tension in the region.

E. Shevardnadze spoke in favor of further deepening and expanding cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Arab countries. He expressed the hope that this will be fostered by the opening in Moscow of an Arab League representative office, which will be afforded every assistance on our part.

Message Sent to India on National Holiday

*LD2501173390 Moscow TASS in English 1700 GMT
25 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR have sent congratulations to President Ramaswamy Venkataraman of the Republic of India and Prime Minister Vishwanat Pratap Singh on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of India as a sovereign republic.

The message says that India has achieved immense successes in social and economic advancement over the past years. India's prestige is high on the international scene where it invariably advocates a peaceful settlement of the existing problems, disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, equality and justice in political and economic communication.

The message points out that the Soviet Union and India have long-standing relations of friendship and cooperation, and stresses that Soviet-Indian interaction aimed at building a new world order, under which there would be no place for weapons of mass destruction, wars and violence, is an important factor of warming the entire international climate.

East Europe

Radio Free Europe Report Termed 'Fable'

*LD2501224490 Moscow TASS in English 2216 GMT
25 Jan 90*

[Bucharest January 26 TASS—By TASS correspondents Dmitriy Dyakov and Nikolay Morozov]

[Text] During Wednesday's meeting in the Victoria Square we saw groups of people listening to a [Radio] Free Europe report.

We were much surprised on hearing that the report was about Ion Iliescu's statement to TASS, in which the chairman of the National Salvation Front Council, said, in part, that a multiparty system is an outdated model of democracy.

We must say that we have not met Ion Iliescu and that he has not granted any interview to TASS so far.

We have made the only attempt to interview Iliescu, on December 24. Regrettably, we have failed, as we have been unable to get into the television building, which was then under fierce fire of terrorists.

In this sense we regret that the report of Free Europe Radio station was a fable, and that an interview with the Front's leader is not among our achievements.

Iliescu stated his attitude to a multi-party system during a meeting with representatives of youth organizations on January 21. The statement was published by Romanian newspapers on January 23 and was also circulated by TASS.

The opinion of the Romanian leader about limitations of bourgeois democracy unexpectedly evoked stormy reaction from Free Europe.

We cannot see why editors of a "non-party" radio station who always emphasise their independence rushed headlong to protect a multiparty system.

The essence of many commentaries of the radio station these days is as following: How can Iliescu dare criticise the countries which are going to give aid to Romania?

Isn't this a strange kind of democracy which denies the leader of a sovereign state the right to his own opinion?

And is it possible to regard as assistance the capital investments with political and economic strings attached?

The numerous attempts of Free Europe Radio to compromise Iliescu as state leader solely for the reason that he has not proclaimed the restoration of capitalism in Romania the day after the revolution do not go together with the spirit of democracy either.

Neither West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, nor his French counterpart Roland Dumas, nor leaders of other Western countries who visited Bucharest these days made such demands on the new Romanian leadership.

No such suggestions have been made by present leaders of the Romanian National Salvation Front, as far as we know.

Moreover, answering the question from a Western correspondent, Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac made it clear

it is in vain that some persons expect Romania to adopt Western political philosophy while there is talk about aid to it.

Why did the radio station need to name TASS as the source of this interview? Do they still look for "Moscow's hand" in all the events not to the liking for those who pay editors of Free Europe, in all the manifestations of independence?

Romanian Ambassador Comments on Border Issue

LD2601014890 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2048 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] The new Romanian ambassador to our country has commenced his duties. Many people are interested to know what the attitude of the new Romanian Government will be to the present border between the Soviet Union and Romania, a border that has changed on more than one occasion.

[Unidentified correspondent] The 1939 (?border)—what is the present attitude in Romania to what Stalin did?

[Vasile Sandru, Romanian ambassador to the USSR, in Russian] The Romanian Government signed the Helsinki Final Act. The new Romanian leadership has removed all the arbitrary provisos which the Ceausescu regime made to the Final Act in Vienna. Thus, we are fully committed to the clauses and all the articles, so to speak, of these most important European documents, and this includes respect for existing borders. [video shows the two men seated in conversation]

GDR's 'Serious' Political Situation Viewed

PM2501111290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy dispatch: "Leipzig on Monday Evening"]

[Text] Leipzig—This was not at all the Leipzig I was used to seeing when I came here twice a year for the international fair. The air of Leipzig seemed to be steeped in politics. There have always been a considerable number of slogans around here, but the old ones, beautifully set out, are no longer in evidence: The new ones are scrawled in paint or sprayed directly onto the walls of buildings and in subways. Leipzig is unrecognizable.

Klaus Winter, the city council press liaison officer, advised that we attend a church service in the Church of St. Nicholas. It is from here, and also from the Church of St. Thomas, associated with the name of Bach, that the traditional Monday demonstration begins. The church was filled to overflowing, with hundreds of people of all ages standing in the aisles and along the walls. Many had brought rolled up flags—they left the banners and placards at the entrance. The sermon by the Evangelical priest—for all his frequent repetition of God's name—was strictly political, like all the subsequent speeches.

Every one of them called for good sense, civic responsibility, the rejection of violence in any form, and patience. I would like to point out that on the edge of chaos the GDR church plays a positive, stabilizing role.

The church service—if it can be called such in the present circumstances—lasted an hour. Then from all directions people began to flood into the floodlit central Karl Marx Square. I would not venture to give the number of people taking part in the rally: There were tens of thousands of them. The black, red, and gold flag, the symbol of a united Germany, streamed above our heads in the cold wind. In vain I looked for at least one flag bearing the state symbols of the GDR. But, with very few exceptions, the placards and banners were directed against the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism (SED-PDS). In addition to this, the crowd chanted "Germany—a united motherland!" and "SED—no more!!!"

The party is having to pay dearly for the mistakes made by the previous leadership. At the end of last week, the crisis in the SED-PDS reached an extreme pitch. The question of the party disbanding was raised. There are currently four platforms and, essentially, four trends within the party, ranging from social democratic to communist. The prevailing feeling was that, in the present conditions, dissolving the party would mean leaving the left end of the GDR political scale exposed and seriously upsetting the balance and distribution of forces. Gregor Gysi is at the head of those in favor of preserving the party. One of his closest associates—Wolfgang Berghofer, deputy chairman of the SED-PDS and mayor of Dresden—has left the party. The entire Dresden SED-PDS board went with him. This is a serious blow to the party, which, incidentally, had been setting great store by Berghofer.

The party has been weakened, it has lost about half of its members, and it talks openly and honestly, without the slightest hint of melodrama, about soon transferring to the opposition. Its leadership sent a letter to the "roundtable" session on Monday, in which it spoke in favor of incorporating representatives of the new parties and movements in a coalition government. H. Modrow, the head of government, who took part in the "roundtable" session, has officially invited the Social Democrats and representatives of other political forces to take up a number of posts currently held by the SED-PDS.

The extremists—leftwing and rightwing—are waiting for their hour to come. This is no fiction, no misplaced fear. In Leipzig I saw a lot of inscriptions daubed in paint on the walls: "Nazis, out!" At this rally and the following demonstration, the "republicans" kept a lower profile than they had done a week ago, but they still openly proclaimed nationalist slogans and handed out leaflets.

The threat from the right in the GDR remains serious, and an increasing number of people are becoming aware of it and calling for it to be opposed.

Stability of GDR Society Under Threat

PM2501151790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy dispatch: "Not To Rock the Boat"]

[Text] Berlin—"Children Evacuation Alarm"—that was the banner headline carried right across the front page of Berlin's B-Z AM ABEND evening newspaper. What actually happened?

An unknown person telephoned the Prenzlauer-Berg District Council and said that a bomb had been planted inside the building and was due to explode at any moment. A creche is located in one wing of the building. It was precisely during the quiet period. The children, about 200 of them, were quickly evacuated. It was a false alarm.

The newspaper writes that this incident is by no means the only recent one. Something similar happens every day now. Unknown persons threaten to blow up buildings or to settle accounts with someone, mainly with members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS]. This is how the atmosphere of fear and uncertainty is being whipped up.

Who are they, these unknown persons? Nobody has any doubts—they are right-wing and left-wing extremists. They have an interest in shaking the already rickety foundations of power, weakening this power, sowing mistrust in the emerging democracy, and then demanding the imposition of order with an iron fist.

Unfortunately, I have to say that the extremist "pressure tactics" are producing results. This can be seen everywhere. Thursday's "roundtable" took place under conditions of extreme security. There is serious fear of actions by extremists. The ransacking of the building of the former Ministry of State Security this week confirmed that these fears are justified.

Stability is now perhaps the most frequently used word in political commentaries. Stability in the country was also discussed at the "roundtable" in Berlin. Representatives of 16 leading parties, public movements, and the church took part. Fears about the future of the revolutionary processes were expressed. They were unanimous on one issue—no violence in any form must be allowed. An appeal to GDR citizens was adopted.

The speakers noted with regret: The perestroika of obsolete and outmoded power structures is proceeding too slowly, and this naturally engenders dissatisfaction in society.

The "roundtable" participants voiced confidence in Hans Modrow's coalition government. Social Democratic Party representative Boehme called on the coalition parties not to withdraw from the government and to cooperate with Modrow to the utmost. Representatives

of the four parties which have joined the SED-PDS in the "grand coalition" affirmed their readiness to cooperate.

Their statements produced a sense of relief in the republic. The threat of a government crisis hovered like an ominous specter all this week. M. Kirchner, general secretary of the GDR Christian Democratic Union [CDU], said that his party no longer agrees with the SED-PDS and intends to leave the coalition. There are three CDU ministers in the government, including de Maiziere, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for Church Affairs. It is hard to predict the consequences of a government crisis. The situation in the country is already on the brink, as the saying goes. Rocking a boat which is sailing in stormy seas could ultimately bring about its sinking.

At the "roundtable," de Maiziere described Kirchner's statement as hasty, but a final decision on this matter will be made at a sitting of the CDU Presidium.

What would be the point in leaving the coalition now? This is the question BERLINER ZEITUNG asks. The government must retain its capacity for action in order to pave the way to the first free elections and to take some extremely necessary steps in the direction of economic, political, and legal perestroika.

Press freedom was an important topic at the "roundtable." A draft law was adopted and will be submitted for examination by the People's Chamber. The "roundtable" participants advocated a price reform, subject to the proviso that low-income families "must not find themselves below the subsistence line." It was announced that Hans Modrow and members of his cabinet will take part in the next sitting, scheduled for Monday.

Economic Cooperation Discussed With GDR

LD2401232490 Moscow TASS in English 2245 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin January 24 TASS—Perfection of the mechanism of economic interaction between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic, and the further development of economic cooperation between the two countries profound social and economic reforms was discussed by delegations of both countries proceeding from decisions of the Sofia session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

A three-day meeting of the intergovernmental commission for economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic ended in the GDR capital on Wednesday.

The Soviet delegation to the 43rd meeting of the intergovernmental commission was headed by Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Ivan Silayev. The GDR delegation was headed by Chairman of the Economic Committee of the GDR Council of Ministers Karl Gruenheid.

Silayev was received by Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers Hans Modrow. The results of the commission's meeting and prospects for the development of cooperation by the two countries at a new level were discussed during a friendly conversation.

Silayev told TASS that a working commission co-chaired by ministers responsible for the development of foreign economic ties was formed to implement decisions of the Sofia CEMA session about economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries.

Progress has been made in coordinating national economic plans of the two countries for the next five-year period, Silayev said.

He said that while preserving state regulation and influence on important directions, amalgamations and enterprises of the two countries will be given much greater freedom to develop direct ties.

The former GDR leadership declared more than once for the development of direct ties, but specific results in the area left much to be desired. TASS asked Hans Modrow his opinion about progress in this area.

Modrow said that direct ties are necessary for both sides. He said that their development had never been envisaged in a greater volume as at present.

PRAVDA Notes Resurgent Neo-Nazism in GDR

PM2501134190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Baygarov dispatch under rubric "Dialogue: Reader Asks, Ponders, Disputes: Neofascists in GDR"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Berlin—Readers' letters contain many questions about events in socialist countries, particularly the GDR. Many people ask us to talk about neo-Nazism in this country.

The desecration of Soviet soldiers' memorials in Berlin's Treptow Park and Gera, along with similar escapades in other cities, have compelled us to talk about an unusual problem for the GDR—neo-Nazism.

What is neo-Nazism in the GDR? By and large, it can be divided into three types. First, organized neofascist groupings. Second, nationalist elements which do not actually identify themselves with neo-Nazis. And third and last, blatant criminals who only use various ultrarightist slogans as a cover.

The overt manifestation of all these three trends has an identical effect on the population—it arouses fear and declining trust in state bodies. The situation is aggravated by the fact that the state security service, which used to deal with neofascism, has effectively been barred from operating under pressure from certain forces. Extremists sense their impunity and, as a result, there is

a growing conviction in society that there is a need for a "strong man" who will supposedly restore order.

Neofascist groupings are mainly joined by young people aged between 17 and 35. The foundation of the GDR neo-Nazis' current ideological and political concept is no different from the views of their "brothers in spirit and blood" in the GDR—restoration of the German Reich within the 1937 borders, withdrawal along with all armaments from NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and elimination of the special obligations of the former victorious allied powers.

Anti-Semitism and the common slogan "Foreigners Out, Communists Up Against the Wall" are still an immutable item of their program.

That is the existing picture. The forecast is depressing: At present, the situation in society is creating favorable conditions for an increase in the size and influence of neo-Nazi groupings in the GDR. In this connection, the statement by many GDR parties to the effect that the danger of neo-Nazism in the GDR allegedly is being exaggerated for Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism propaganda purposes is surprising. However, against the backdrop of the current political struggle, it is dangerous to underestimate this phenomenon.

Terekh, Polish Home Market Minister Sign Pact

LD2501022190 Warsaw PAP in English 2355 GMT
24 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 24—Polish Home Market Minister Aleksander Mackiewicz was received by Soviet Vice-Premier Aleksandra Birukova today at the end of his two-day visit here.

Both sides discussed further development of direct cooperation between Polish and Soviet trade enterprises and factories. On the same day, Minister Mackiewicz signed a protocol on trade in 1990 with Soviet Trade Minister Terekh.

Poland's Walesa Troop Pullout Call Rejected

PM2501141590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 21 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Polish Government Stance"]

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Jan—We are not raising the question of the presence of Soviet troops in Polish territory, M. Niezabitowska, Polish government press spokesperson, said at a press conference. Explaining the attitude of T. Mazowiecki's cabinet to the demand by L. Walesa, chairman of the "Solidarity" trade union, that the Soviet troops be withdrawn by the end of 1990—a demand made yesterday after a meeting with the Soviet ambassador—she said that this is the personal opinion of Mr Walesa.

Bulgarian Roundtable Discussion Reported

PM2501114590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Jan 90 Morning Edition p4

[Own correspondent A. Kapralov dispatch: "'Roundtable' Begins Work"]

[Text] Sofia—I do not know whether all the participants in the national "roundtable" held on Monday arrived in time for the start of the session, possibly by the taxis with their constant flow of passengers. But I do know for sure that thousands of people living in the capital were late for work. That is because bus drivers went on strike at 0400 hours; by midday they had been joined by their colleagues from two trolleybus depots.

The drivers were demanding improved working conditions, higher wages, cuts in administrative personnel, and a solution to the housing problem.

The conflict has been resolved, but the questions remain. Who, the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO asks, did the drivers punish? Perhaps those who travel in official cars with little blinds? The victims, the newspaper writes, were primarily women, children, and pensioners left waiting in vain at bus stops.

An impromptu poll to find the opinions of would-be passengers showed that people were indignant about the strike. They even suggested that city transport be placed under the control of the defense ministry! At the same time, some of the respondents admitted that the drivers' demands were just and that those who had reduced them to striking should be punished. The following view was also expressed: If the leaders of transport enterprises used buses and trolleybuses themselves, rather than official cars, perhaps the strike would not have happened....

But let us return to the "roundtable," where a compromise was also being sought. Zh. Zhelev, chairman of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces, expressed satisfaction that a national "roundtable" had been set up at last. Our task as the democratic opposition, he continued, is to lead Bulgaria out of its state of totalitarianism onto the broad path of democracy. When this task has been fulfilled and Bulgaria is moving in a peaceful, nonviolent fashion toward democracy, we will feel that the Union of Democratic Forces has fulfilled its historical role.

In turn, A. Lukanov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, said that the BCP and its coalition partner, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, consider the existence of opposition political forces to be a natural phenomenon for a multi-party parliamentary democracy. He expressed willingness to cooperate both with the opposition parties and organizations represented in the Union of Democratic Forces, and with other social and professional organizations for the sake of achieving the main objective: to

move away from a totalitarian system toward a democratic state and civil society.

Bulgarian Communist Party Documents Published

PM2501142590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent L. Zhmyrev dispatch: "What Bulgarian Communist Party Is To Be Like"]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Jan—The draft new statutes of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the draft political declaration "Manifesto of Democratic Socialism in Bulgaria" have been published in the press. Both documents will be submitted for discussion to the 14th (Extraordinary) BCP Congress, which is to open 30 January.

The draft new statutes state that the BCP is a Marxist political organization, which means that its immediate aim is to create a democratic and humane socialist civil society. It is proposed to change the structure of leading party organs. The supreme organ—the congress—will be convened once every 2 years. It is to elect a Supreme Party Council in place of the existing Central Committee, as well as a Central Financial and Auditing Commission, and a Central Party Ethics Commission. Permanent and temporary commissions and working groups are to be formed in the council. It is to elect the party's chairman, two deputy chairmen, and secretary. Together with the chairmen of the permanent commissions they form the party's Presidium, which is to resolve current questions.

The draft "manifesto" also contains many new points. The party renounces the former model of socialism, it states. Socialism is necessary and possible only as a step forward from what has already been achieved, as a more democratic, more just, and more humane society than capitalist society. The authoritarian system which existed hitherto could not ensure this.

The BCP will struggle for power using democratic methods. On the question of the party's ideological and theoretical principles, it is stated that the party rejects dogmatism. The vital need for the creative development of the theory of scientific socialism is emphasized. Views on the social composition and on internal party life are changing. The right of communists to unite in ideological trends is recognized, and the right of the minority to advance alternative proposals is guaranteed.

According to the document, the political system of democratic socialism presupposes a multiparty system, parliamentary democracy, a rule-of-law state, the delimitation of legislative, executive, and judicial power, greater independence for local organs of management, and guaranteed freedoms.

The party attaches special significance to ensuring that Bulgaria occupies a worthy place in the new Europe. It advocates strengthening relations with the USSR and

other socialist countries and supports Bulgaria's participation in the Warsaw Pact Organization. It favors a policy of neighborliness and cooperation in the Balkans.

The draft documents, which are designed to change the makeup of the Bulgarian Communists' party, have elicited broad interest within society.

Relations Between Bulgaria, Turkey Viewed

PM2501132390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Zhmyrev dispatch in response to reader's letter under rubric "Dialogue: Reader Asks, Ponders, Disputes": "Turnaround Toward Normalization"; first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] Sofia—"Of late the press has written a great deal about the flare-up of nationalist passions in Bulgaria and the confrontation between the Bulgarian and Turkish-speaking population. What impact is this having on Bulgaria's relations with its neighbor Turkey?"

N. Maznev, Chekhov, Moscow Oblast.

The Bulgarian press reports that last year approximately 300,000 Turkish-speaking citizens left Bulgaria for Turkey and another 400,000 applied to leave.

Gross violations of rights are the reason for this. In 1984-1985, on T. Zhivkov's instructions, hundreds of thousands of people had their names changed forcibly, tombs were desecrated, and bans were introduced on the wearing of "mohammedan" dress, the use of the Turkish language, and the performance of religious rites.

The date 29 December last year was a crucial one—the date that the Bulgarian Government adopted a decision to restore the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population's civil rights. Bulgarian-Turkish relations also got moving, as confirmed by the recent meeting between the two countries' foreign ministers in Kuwait.

In the course of the talks the Bulgarian side expressed its stance to the effect that there have not been and are not any historical and juridical grounds for acknowledging the so-called Turkish minority in the country. On the basis of such claims some Turkish propaganda organs are still trying to manipulate a part of Bulgarian society to kindle separatist trends. Bulgaria proposed signing a joint document whereby both countries would pledge to be guided by the principles of the United Nations and the Helsinki Final Act.

The talks in Kuwait were also assessed positively by the Turkish side. We have many common interests with Bulgaria, Turkish Foreign Minister M. Yilmaz said in an interview with Bulgaria's OTECHESTVEN FRONT. He voiced the opinion that T. Zhivkov's policy, which resulted in Turkish-Bulgarian relations being reduced to zero, was the reason for the tension in bilateral relations and that it was its further implementation which created a "Turkish minority." "I cannot deny that Turkey and the Turkish Government are also to blame for the

deterioration in bilateral relations owing to some of their irresponsible actions," the minister pointed out.

It remains to be added that there is still a great deal to be done to normalize Bulgarian-Turkish relations: It is important not to waste time.

West Europe

UK's Waldegrave Meets With Vorontsov

LD2501231190 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1120 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Kiev, 25 Jan (TASS)—William Waldegrave, minister of state at the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, stated in the Ukrainian capital today that Soviet-British relations have now improved and have acquired a new character and dynamism. He has been on a visit to the USSR for comprehensive Soviet-British political consultations.

In an interview to TASS special correspondent Igor Peskov before flying off to Brussels, he noted that the improvement in relations between the countries is demonstrated in particular by the fact that beside "maintaining warm relations between the leaders of the two countries, regular, frank, and businesslike discussions of international problems and bilateral relations have recently begun at every level."

"One important result of my conversation in Moscow", said William Waldegrave, "in particular those with Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, is that the sides identified a similarity of positions on most international problems. This was the case, above all, with the discussion on the situations in the Near East and southern Africa, and of matters relating to reinforcing European security."

According to the minister of state, the sides were united in the view that direct dialogue should begin as soon as possible between the PLO and Israel, and that this was a "necessary step on the road to convening an international conference on a Near East settlement."

Concerning the situation in Eastern Europe, William Waldegrave noted that his country welcomes the changes taking place there.

Great Britain supports the initiative on holding a pan-European summit meeting as early as this year, at which all the problems connected with reinforcing European security in the new conditions should be discussed, he said.

In reply to the correspondent's question about Great Britain's reaction to the events in Soviet Transcaucasia, the minister of state said that his government "fully realizes the need for the Soviet authorities to restore law and order there, and that this is the Soviet Union's internal affair."

Falin Meets FRG Economic Cooperation Minister

PM2501143590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 19 January, V.M. Falin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, held talks with J. Warnke, FRG minister for economic cooperation and deputy chairman of the Christian Social Union, who participated in the work of the "Global Forum on the Environment and Development for Survival" in Moscow. There was an exchange of opinions on certain topical questions of the contemporary international situation.

Voronin Meets French Economy Minister

WA2501192890 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA
in Russian 17 Jan 90 p 3

[Report by TASS correspondent A. Krivykh for RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA: "USSR-France: New Stage of Cooperation"]

[Text] Paris—Talks have been held in the French capital between L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and French Minister of State P. Berezogovoy, minister of economy, finance, and the budget.

A Soviet-French agreement on economic, industrial, and science and technology cooperation between the governments of the two countries was signed in the course of the meeting. A long-term program of cooperation for the period 1991-95, which will define the spheres and forms of bilateral interaction at various levels, including the realization of specific projects, will be drawn up on the basis of this document.

The agreement also provides for the creation of a common intergovernmental Soviet-French commission, which will replace the former "grand" and "small" commissions. Its job is to organize fulfillment of the document which has been signed and encourage and coordinate cooperation between the Soviet Union and France in the sphere of economics, industry, science, and technology.

During negotiations, a proposal was made on increasing the supplies of natural gas from the Soviet Union to France in exchange for the sale by France of consumer goods and foodstuffs to the Soviet Union. The Soviet side also proposed holding in Moscow this March, at the time of the session of the newly formed common intergovernmental commission, a seminar for French businessmen on questions of the creation of USSR joint ventures and the possibilities of their functioning under the conditions of the development of market elements of the economy.

As emphasized at the subsequent news conference, the new Soviet-French agreement ensues directly from the declaration of the principles of the development and upgrading of cooperation, signed during the top-level meeting last July in Paris by M.S. Gorbachev and F. Mitterrand. Both parties see it primarily as an important political document, which, together with the declaration, reflects the new stage in relations between the two states based on goodwill and new thinking. On the other hand, the agreement also has serious economic content. Together with a long-term program it determines the basic directions and forms of cooperation which are intended to ensure its greatest effectiveness.

The agreement which has been reached, L.A. Voronin said at the press conference, creates the legal basis for the new stage of Soviet-French cooperation and secures the conditions for the commissioning of its mechanism. The former analogous agreement, which lasted almost 25 years, had accomplished its mission. Much has changed since then, the head of the Soviet delegation emphasized, and continues to change rapidly in our countries, in Europe, and throughout the world. We must react to this. The priorities mapped out for the development of direct relations and the main fields and directions of cooperation, he pointed out, are pertinent not only now but for the long term also.

Soviet-Finnish Economic Ties Viewed

*WA2501192290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5*

[Report on interview with V. Pugin, USSR commercial representative in Finland, by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Shmyganovskiy: "Real and Imaginary Problems"]

[Text] Slightly more than a year ago, a report titled "The Heavy Burden of Mercury" was published in IZVESTIYA, in which an attempt was made to reflect critically on Soviet-Finnish trade issues. What has since changed? Why do we continue to treat with such great attention the topic of our economic relations with this small state whose entire population could fit in Lenin-grad alone?

No matter how we view the structure of mutual trade in goods which continues to be based 80 percent on oil and other energy forms from our side and machinery, equipment, and highly upgraded goods from the Finnish side, we cannot but note that it was in Suomi that many promising forms of trade were tested which are now practiced in trade with developed capitalist countries. Carrying out large-scale projects, signing 5-year and long-term economic commercial agreements, creating first joint enterprises.... Finland holds on firmly to second place after the FRG in both volume of trade and number of such enterprises. One of the largest commercial representations of the USSR in the Western world, which numbers around 70 specialists, operates in Helsinki.

Therefore, innovation and trail-blazing features are beyond any doubt. At the same time, the practice of commerce is still based on clearing—balanced accounting for mutual deliveries—an anachronism which most states of the world have given up. These "protocol deliveries" are nothing but, so to say, an international version of state orders for many Soviet enterprises.

Commercial Representative V. Pugin, who has worked in the country for about 8 years, on one occasion referred to this system as "the command-administrative system in the foreign economic sphere."

Vladimir Dmitriyevich said: "However, things have historically evolved so that the parties are not about to give up clearing, at least in the next few years. This was also confirmed during a recent visit to Finland by M.S. Gorbachev during which a new 5-year commercial agreement was signed. Major projects for developing the forest resources of the USSR comprehensively on the basis of Finnish technology were discussed, as well as the details of the Kola project, and issues of setting up the first free economic zones.

"Still, the decision of the authorities does not make discussions on the future of clearing a taboo. Some Finnish specialists call it a godsend. Prime Minister H. Holkeri who is a co-chairman of the Finnish segment of the Commission for Economic Cooperation said in an interview that clearing trade is so advantageous for Finland that giving it up should not even be considered for as long as it can be maintained. Others call for switching to regular trade denominated in freely convertible currencies.

"Indeed, the points of view happen to be diametrically opposed. The advantage of the current system is in the fact that it provides a perspective, a certain future for most of the Finnish companies who are our traditional partners; they receive from their banks Finnish markkas (as is known, a convertible currency) for the goods sold rather than clearing rubles. Until recently, our exporters received virtually nothing. The USSR Ministry of Finance "vetoed" technical allowances for their budgets. Now the enterprises have come to own clearing rubles for which, incidentally, a lot can be purchased in Finland.

"Switching to 'free' trade would immediately reduce its volume sharply. However, in whose interest is it to destroy the contacts established for decades?"

[Shmyganovskiy] Therefore, you think that clearing has a future?

[Pugin] No. However, for as long as it is in operation I agree with the head of the Finnish Government.

[Shmyganovskiy] However, Vladimir Dmitriyevich, there are still many negatives. Some of our enterprises tend to do away with "export quotas" looking toward countries where they receive dollars, pounds, and yen for

their goods for which they purchase whatever they want rather than clearing rubles which may be used in the nearest neighbor country in the north of Europe. Is this not the reason why the quality of Soviet deliveries has not been improving, as very many Finnish business leaders with whom I have talked confirm?

[Pugin] In all honesty, it is even getting worse. This involves raw materials as well. They try to sell off everything low-grade through clearing, and everything that is the best through direct contacts, for hard currency.

Everybody knows how substantially our cars, machine tools, and tractors in which they replace the cabin and hydraulic devices are modified in Finland. There is no justification for this situation!

Here is one more example of the lack of confidence in clearing. The Finns asked us to find an opportunity to sell 500 tons of rolled titanium products last year. The State Planning Commission found no such opportunity. Suddenly, it turned out that Tajikistan, whose delegation was visiting Helsinki for negotiations, could offer titanium, as much as 1,000 tons. Having found out that they will be paid "in the wrong currency," representatives of the southern republic withdrew their offer and went West. However, clearing particularly hampers the operation of joint enterprises. A transition to trade in freely convertible currencies at these enterprises appears to be an urgent priority measure. Both sides agree with this; however, nothing has been resolved for incomprehensible reasons.

[Shmyganovskiy] How can trade go on without Soviet suppliers being genuinely interested?

[Pugin] It is an obvious absurdity in this matter that only freely convertible currencies, such as the dollar, mark, crown, and franc, apply toward the fulfillment of export plans. Second, many people are not aware of what can be purchased in Finland for clearing rubles—an accounting unit, albeit conventional, existing only in bank accounts, but quite strong though tied to a single country.

Take a look at the VAZ [Volga Car Works]. It delivers to our neighbors approximately 16,000 passenger cars a year. In keeping with a decision of the collective of this enterprise, equipment for a meat-packing plant was purchased with clearing ruble allowances.

[Shmyganovskiy] They are still not on an equal footing with the Finnish exporters...

[Pugin] Incidentally, at the last talks the Finnish side was the one to address this incongruity. Meanwhile, there is a way out, and a simple one. We have already proposed to make the clearing ruble convertible, and the Finnish economists also support the idea.

In the process, we are not referring to the R2 billion of Soviet exports to Finland (apparently, this number scares everyone!) but the allowances the enterprises get for selling manufactured goods and, in part, timber. This

quota amounts to roughly R100 million, or one-twentieth of the monetary value of exports. Why should they not be converted into any currency at the option of the seller? I am certain that in the course of this much of the allowance will still be used in Finland.

[Shmyganovskiy] Was your proposal accepted?

[Pugin] They promised to "consider" it. However, one gets the impression that even simple issues are not being resolved in the center.

[Shmyganovskiy] Let us go back to allowances for "export quotas." This issue definitely concerns all our commercial employees. It is known that many enterprises export some 1 or 2 percent of the overall volume of products. However, these deliveries require a good deal of care and energy! Why should we not let such factories and plants retain all 100 percent of the currency earned, at least at first, so that they can get on their feet?"

[Pugin] This would be fair. Under the legislation in effect, they could spend 30 percent of the hard-currency proceeds for purchasing consumer goods and foodstuffs for the work force.

[Shmyganovskiy] My interlocutor has never concealed that he is a proponent of the further operation of the foreign trade apparatus. Have his views changed in conjunction with the decentralization of commercial relations?

[Pugin] I have believed and continue to believe that a well-established and skilled apparatus of, say, an office of the commercial representative is not an obstacle in the path of transactions, a Cerberus defending solely the interests of the state, but an assistant, consultant, organizer. According to some calculations, about 900 organizations, including cooperatives, are now active in the Finnish market. The tendency is to not even inform the office of the commercial representative about business trips, negotiations, and contracts. As a result, there is a growing influx of people who have no idea of marketing, trends, and future partners.

The structures already in place are completely ignored. Instead of, say, coming to the Raznoeksport and purchasing consumer goods or foodstuffs through this association (at the best prices) they definitely send out a delegation ("we want to trade ourselves!"), "eat away" a small fortune during business trips—hotels in Helsinki alone can do it!—and as a result purchase everything expensively.

[Shmyganovskiy] Pardon me for being direct, Vladimir Dmitriyevich, but does this not amount to administrative grumbling: They do not report their arrival, they do not recognize the office of the commercial representative, stay away from it, behave willfully?

[Pugin] To your mind, how should the office react if an enterprise attempts to sell its products considerably cheaper than a state organization which argues for every ruble in the course of negotiations? Also, this transaction

may remain secret; catching such an "exporter" red-handed is not easy. Last year, the association Inter-Latviya supplied window glass to Finland at a price almost 30 percent lower than that of the Stroymaterial-intorg. The EstFin joint enterprise signed a transaction for bed linens at R1 million below market prices.

Here is an altogether anecdotal case. The lack of familiarity with local conditions and legislation, of elementary information on the partners, and disregard for the experience of specialists working in Finland brought about the Association Ukrimpeks signing a contract for the exports of vodka and ladies' garments with the company Terro Koski which nobody in the office of the commercial representative was aware of, and which soon went bankrupt.

Only then did the Ukrainian comrades turn to us—for help, of course. Some of the cargo and payments will, perhaps, be returned. However, Ukrimpeks will still suffer considerable losses. In the course of our conversations, it came out that the management of the association did not know that in Finland the state company Alko holds a monopoly on the import of alcoholic beverages and imports of wine or vodka by other companies are carried out only with its permission.

[Shmyganovskiy] Still, isn't this influx of business travelers and spontaneously established contacts rather positive? For example, crossborder trade has increased sharply, almost by a factor of 2.5 compared to 1986.

[Pugin] This is a gratifying fact, but we have agreed to concentrate on the problems not yet solved. What is crossborder trade about? These are mainly exports of above-the-plan products of local provenance and manufacture, in other words, of products belonging to republic stocks. This gives them the right to use all of the proceeds in hard currency for purchasing various goods. However, the foreign trade organizations of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia sometimes export under the guise of crossborder trade goods from all-union stocks (from the raw material and fuel and energy group) which are not mined or produced in these republics. In the process, local goods account for a negligible share. However, as you must have guessed, no allowances to the all-union budget are transferred. This practice infringes on the rights of mining enterprises which receive miniscule proceeds from such deliveries. This brings about social tension.

[Shmyganovskiy] On the other hand, areas adjacent to the border are shackled by licenses needed from close to two dozen all-union organizations. Actually, this means dependence on the bureaucracy which is arbitrary and unpredictable. Everything comes down again to resolving operational issues from the center.

[Pugin] If there were no instances of abuses which I have mentioned we could raise the issue of completely canceling licensing requirements in crossborder trade.

You know, I cannot get over the fact that in Finland with its apparent free market element it is more difficult to

skirt legislation than in our planned and centralized economy. They argue a lot here while a law is under discussion. However, once it has been adopted, everyone sees to it that a partner (competitor, neighbor, or even just a fellow traveler) follows the rules prescribed.

[Shmyganovskiy] ...The report "The Heavy Burden of Mercury" referred to a large imbalance in favor of Finland which has emerged in our trade.

Vladimir Dmitriyevich said: "We are finishing this year with a surplus of almost R100,000 in our favor. We have paid the first installments, over 100 million, toward the so-called special account. All of this is just the beginning. Together with loans, we have to return another R800 million—this is billions of markka..."

Unfortunately, we pay back the debts in oil and other raw materials. At the same time, the world-renowned garment and footwear companies are closing on the other side of the border. They counted on our orders and the rosy promises by visiting optimistic ministers. However, imports of consumer goods from Finland declined by a factor of three in the course of the 5-year plan. This self-restriction is a forced but, perhaps, the only acceptable measure for the authorities of both countries. What about consumers?

As far as the consumers are concerned, they could be helped to at least some degree by a solution to the problems outlined in this article. I think that the most significant issue is making the ruble convertible for the first time...even if this ruble has a somewhat strange name—clearing ruble.

Latin America & Caribbean

Central American Peace Prospects Assessed

WA2501192590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by K. Khachaturov, doctor of historical sciences: "A Time To Gather Stones"]

[Text] On that day in the Salvadoran capital there was the fiercest fighting in all the long years of the civil war. The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) fighters for the first time broke through to the center of the capital and occupied the Sheraton Hotel. For its part, government aircraft conducted bombing raids on the city's working-class quarters.

The delegation of the Soviet committee for solidarity with the peoples of Latin America, which was making a trip through the countries involved in the regional conflicts, was passing the time in the San Salvador airport waiting for the aircraft for their scheduled flight.

By the will of fate we were witnesses to the greatest aggravation of the situation in El Salvador in recent years, this wildly pulsating nerve center of the entire Central American conflict. What are its sources and

causes and, the main thing, the prospects for reconciliation? The purpose of our trip was to obtain answers to these questions and at the same time present the position of the Soviet public concerning ways of peaceful regulation of the regional conflicts.

The most widespread version is that the conflict in Central America originated 10 years ago with the victory of the Sandinists in Nicaragua who were alleged to have proclaimed a "revolution without borders" and provided the impetus for armed conflict in El Salvador. But life has shown that the antagonism in Central America was not provoked by the revolution in Nicaragua. It only proved the possibility of an alternative path of development independent of the will of the "great northern neighbor."

"It was not the Soviet Union, Cuba, or Nicaragua that caused the poverty and social injustice in Central America," said the press secretary for the Guatemalan president, Carlos Anleu. A similar idea was expressed during the meetings with the leadership of the Peace University under the United Nations, which is located in the town of Colon in the outskirts of the Costa Rican capital. Competent scientific research groups are modeling crucial social and foreign political programs here.

According to the substantiated assessment of the author of the program in the area of peaceful regulation of the conflict in Central America, Fabio Castillo, its key unit is the crisis of power in El Salvador, the class egoism of the oligarchy, and the stubborn unwillingness of the government to sit down at the negotiating table with representatives of the FMLN without ultimatums about preliminary and unconditional capitulation of the insurgent movement.

The chairman of the council of the Peace University and its founder, former President of Costa Rica Rodrigo Caraso, recalled: Article 85 of the existing Salvadoran Constitution sanctions the people's right to armed struggle if their aspirations are not satisfied. But the oligarchy and the military clique are trampling upon the basic rights of the people and subjecting them to barbaric repressive measures. Six clergymen were killed recently; before that the head of the country's Roman Catholic church was shot.

In El Salvador the violence of the regime under the power of the military clique and the excesses of the cutthroats from the "death squadrons" are lighting the fires of civil war. To the terror of the authorities and their ultimatums, the FMLN fighters, who are operating in a considerable number of departments of the country, respond with armed resistance.

The deep causes of the social opposition in each Central American country, which are their internal affair, should not stand in the way of a peaceful solution to the regional conflict. The awareness of this truth gained through suffering has given life to the Contadora process which is unprecedented in the history of Latin America.

The neutral Latin American states themselves, including the leading ones, have engaged in this process on the basis of a compromise national and intergovernmental dialogue among the countries in conflict. And then the eight states participating in the Contadora process handed the baton over to the presidents of the five states of Central America which created a mechanism for negotiations, including regular high-level meetings.

...Costa Rican President Oskar Arias received us at home. The Nobel Peace Prize winner, who was given this award for his plan for political regulation in Central America, was depressed, as he put it, by the extreme polarization of forces in the region. "Many years of effort in search of dialogue have been torpedoed. This is my personal impression as a proponent of peace," the president said bitterly. "Violence only generates more violence, and this only plays into the hands of the ultra Right Wing, those who want to resolve the conflict through force." The pessimistic predictions, fortunately, did not come true, reason prevailed, and soon after the aforementioned conversation, hospitable Costa Rica became the location for the meetings of the five presidents who signed the solemn declaration of cooperation in order to bring peace to Central America.

One cannot but see that the United States was trying to draw maximum dividends from the aggravation of the tension in the region, which coincided in time with the Soviet-American meeting in Malta. Washington's reaction to the discovery in El Salvador of a batch of weapons allegedly "of Soviet manufacture" was, to put it mildly, not appropriate to the episode, although the episode actually was not in keeping with the mutual commitments of the Central American countries. But this episode could hardly provide justification for U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker to call Central America "the largest obstacle on the path to improving Soviet-American relations." More so since the Soviet side showed understanding of U.S. interests in this region.

Everything can be seen in comparison. During those same days, when Washington and its regional allies were indignant about a batch of arms sent to El Salvador, detailed development was completed on a plan for American armed intervention against Panama. The "Salvadoran affair" was to have served as a smoke screen to cover preparations in the United States for the largest airborne operation since World War II.

The unparalleled aggression against Panama reactivated methods of the "big stick" policy and "gunboat diplomacy" that seemed to have been relegated to the archives. The imperial instinct, however, has shown striking viability. Independently, our contacts in various countries emphasized that now it was the United States in its relations with its allies that was conducting the same policy of "limited sovereignty" of which people in the West spoke during the years of stagnation, referring to relations between the USSR and its Warsaw Pact allies. The Salvadoran knot must be untied for there is no alternative to a peaceful solution to the conflict,

taking into account the legitimate interests of the opposing sides. But for now, blood is being spilled abundantly in El Salvador and the civilian population has the most victims.

Another key problem of Central American regulation is the disarmament and disbanding of the formations of Nicaraguan contras who have become entrenched in Honduras. There are no less than 10,000 of them and they are the strike force for potential aggression, a source of tension in Nicaragua, and a channel for diverting material and human resources for defense needs. "The Contras must understand that military activities in Nicaragua are jeopardizing the elections in this country," Oskar Arias told us. For the author, who has first-hand experience with the situation in Afghanistan, the American military bases with the contras who are quartered there can conventionally be compared in miniature to the dushman nests in Peshawar.

We ended up in Tegucigalpa, the Honduran capital, on the eve of the disarming of the contras and the disbanding of their formations as stipulated by the agreement among the presidents of the five countries. "How does Honduras intend to fulfill its commitment?"—we asked the country's President Jose Azcona who received us in his office.

When referring to the Salvadoran crisis the president was inclined to restrict the conversation to an assessment of the situation in the other country. "Military law reigns in El Salvador and the government is violating human rights," he said. "American influence in this country is increasing, but El Salvador is a blind alley for the United States because mountains of weapons will not solve the social problems." The president's conclusions are reasonable, but what is the situation with respect to demobilization of the contras?

"In reality the contras are peaceful peasants who want to work peacefully," Jose Azcona stated. "Let them disarm themselves voluntarily and the Sandinists will create conditions for their return to a safe existence. Neither I nor my successor will spill a drop of a soldier's blood in order to force the contras to disarm."

It was not without reason that Jose Azcona mentioned his successor. Just before our conversation there had been elections and the president's party was defeated. Part of the reason was that he had allowed Honduras to be transformed into the largest U.S. military base in the region after Panama. This, however, did not keep the U.S. ambassador from congratulating Jose Azcona's opponent publicly even before the election commission had given its verdict.

It must be admitted that the United States has a real possibility of disarming the contras. During the course of our discussion with political figures from Honduras, Parliament Deputy Vida Bermudes stated: "The contras can leave only with American assistance. And the contras present more of a danger to Honduras than to Nicaragua." This is why the newly elected president,

taking the reaction of the Honduran public into account, declared its intention to disband the contra formations.

The general elections scheduled for 25 February in Nicaragua are one of the three pillars of the peaceful Central American home. In Managua the deputy chairman of the National Assembly, Letitia Herrera, recalled that more than 20 political parties control the votes of almost 2 million voters. The main opposition forces have formed into a bloc and nominated Violetta Chamorro as their candidate for president. Her son, the editor in chief of the official Sandinista organ, the newspaper BARRIKADA, said: "The purpose of the elections is to achieve the long-awaited peace."

The Sandinists are interested in creating the most favorable possible conditions for conducting the elections. A high election council consisting of two government delegates, two representatives of the opposition, and one nonparty member has been formed in order to organize them. The last, the eminent lawyer Rodolfo Sandino, emphasized that never before in any country has an election campaign been attended by so many foreign observers. There should be a total of about 2,000 of them.

On the roads of Nicaragua one can see trucks with the identification marks of the United Nations and the OAS. There are also groups of independent observers, one of them headed by former U.S. President J. Carter. One is alarmed, however, by a dangerous tendency. The White House is refusing ahead of time to give credence to the results of the elections in Nicaragua, using the well-known preface which is clearly inappropriate here: The elections supposedly cannot be "clean" because they never can be. At the same time the United States is interfering in the election campaign, openly financing the opposition, provoking the contras, and using them as an instrument for pressure on the Sandinista government. Recently a group of congressmen was refused entry into Nicaragua to observe the preparations for the elections.

Another tendency is becoming quite obvious in the United States: The desire to reduce the complex of Central American regulation merely to "clean"—in Washington's estimate—elections in Nicaragua; ignoring, for example, the commitment to disarm the contras. But the procedure for establishing peace in Central America is a unified package of commitments, each of which must be unwaveringly fulfilled.

As concerns the Sandinists, they have entered into an honest election struggle with faith in victory. We attended an open pre-election campaign of Sandinists, and on the next day was the first meeting of newly nominated presidential candidate Daniel Ortega with his constituents in the town of Camoapa about 100 km from the capital. Incidentally, one of the most significant

opposition parties has influence here—the Social Christian Party. But through the tangible results of their social policy, the Sandinists have won the support of the majority of peasants here.

None of the people we spoke with in the countries of Central America, including presidents, have any doubt about the victory of the Sandinists. As, for example, the chairman of the commission on international affairs of the Costa Rican legislative assembly, Alfonso Estevanovich, thinks, "The victory of the Sandinists is guaranteed, and it will strengthen their international authority and strengthen their support." The forthcoming elections in Nicaragua are not only a test of the strength of their popular support but also a large contribution to the regulation of the prolonged conflict in Central America by peaceful, political means. Good will should be shown by each side.

Central America is the only subregion of the world where the Soviet Union does not maintain relations with the majority of the countries. One can hardly consider this situation normal. Both the Soviet side and the general public of the Central American states are now coming to this conclusion.

A large amount of benevolent interest is being displayed toward our country and perestroika. About a thousand students and teachers from the National Autonomous University of Tegucigalpa filled the auditorium to overflowing to obtain from Soviet people answers to the most diverse questions, pertaining mostly to the fate of perestroika. It is another matter that it is directly proportional to the lack of information of the audience. Even a representative of Mexican television sincerely asked a member of our delegation, Archbishop of Yaroslavl and Rostov Platon, how he manages to combine religious convictions with "belonging to the Communist Party."

A growing interest in the Soviet Union is a part of the new currents in Central America, whose countries are faced with a multitude of difficult, frequently burning problems. It is for the people of each country to solve them. But the countries of Central America have one common task—peace in the region. The kind of peace whereby each is guaranteed equal safety and an equal right to select a path of development.

Deputy Yanayev Addresses Havana TU Meeting

LD2601101690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0158 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Havana, 26 Jan (TASS)—At the 16th Congress of the Trade Union Center of the Workers of Cuba here on Thursday, Gennadiy Yanayev, head of the Soviet delegation, deputy chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU], made a speech. He conveyed to the delegates at the forum and to all the working people of the republic sincere greetings from the working people of the Soviet Union and from the trade unions of the USSR, and wishes for successful, fruitful work.

Soviet people have always taken a heightened interest in the revolutionary past and life today of the first socialist state in

the Western Hemisphere, in your successes and problems, in the ways of solving these problems, Gennadiy Yanayev noted. Such interest is maintained today, too, and this is quite understandable. For changes that are cardinal in their content are presently taking place in the life of the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is a question of a whole stage—a stage of seeking for ways and forms of making the transition to a new quality of life, to combining socialism with democracy.

We think highly of the level of Soviet-Cuban trade union contacts and cooperation achieved, regard them as a combined contribution to the strengthening of Soviet-Cuban friendship in the spirit of the treaty signed in April last year by Comrades M.S. Gorbachev and F. Castro, and we will do everything necessary to further deepen our bilateral contacts, the representative of the Soviet trade unions noted.

Fidel Castro Cited on Trade With USSR

PM2501135390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS, REUTER, UPI roundup report: "Fidel Castro's Article"]

[Text] In an article for the Spanish newspaper EL INDEPENDIENTE, Fidel Castro has stated that if the USSR continues its inequitable trade exchange with Cuba—selling its goods at increasingly high prices and buying Cuban agricultural produce and raw materials at lower prices—this will amount to the same policy which the United States is implementing in respect of developing countries. Thus the USSR, he said, will ultimately join the U.S. blockade of Cuba.

Brazil's President-Elect To Visit 30 Jan

LD2501143290 Moscow TASS in English 1339 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Brasilia January 25 TASS—Brazilian President-Elect Fernando Collor de Mello, who will take office on March 15, has left for a 19-day foreign tour which will take him to nine countries, including the USSR.

Collor will talk with leaders of the United States, Japan, leading West European countries, and meet representatives of international financial agencies.

Collor will visit Moscow on January 30, as a guest of the Supreme Soviet.

"We are keeping an enthusiastic and understanding eye on dynamic processes in East European countries, in the Soviet Union, in the first place. The current changes could benefit the whole of mankind and give hope for a better future," he said at a news conference on the eve of his departure.

Collor praised Soviet-Brazilian relations, noting that they are "at a good level."

"My visit to the USSR signifies that our states attach great significance to bilateral relations in order to develop cooperation and mutual exchange of experience," he said.

Supreme Soviet

Basic Provisions of Income Tax Bill Approved

*LD2501235290 Moscow TASS in English 2342 GMT
25 Jan 90*

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The drafting of the bills, which will form the legal basis for the country's new taxation system, is nearing completion at the USSR Supreme Soviet.

On Thursday the Planning, Budget and Finance Commission of the Council of the Union chamber approved the basic provisions of the bill on individual income tax.

Earlier, only one bill was envisaged—on a single taxation system. However, deliberations in the parliament's committees and commissions resulted in the conclusion that two bills are needed—on income tax and tax on profits derived by enterprises and organisations.

The two bills will be submitted for the consideration of the Third Supreme Soviet session scheduled to open on February 14.

The bill approved by the commission on Thursday envisages the introduction of progressive taxation and the tax-exempt minimum wages as well as the annulment of some taxes.

Under the new law the Council of Ministers will be stripped of its right to grant tax exemption to various groups of people as this resulted in some cases in the provision for these groups of "most favoured nation treatment". Henceforth, this right will be vested in the country's parliament.

It was stressed that the bills under discussion will mark the first phase on the way towards the creation of a system of population taxation that will be new in principle.

The new system is expected to replace the active order that took shape in the 1940's and 1950's on the basis of dozens of regulations and letters of instruction that are no longer consistent with the real economic situation.

The new system will be based on principles of the full account of incomes and the equality of all population groups in their tax duties to the state. This implies the introduction of annual taxable income declarations to be submitted by individuals and liability for the failure to pay taxes and for concealing income.

The need to proceed towards the new system in a stage-by-stage manner is connected with the fact that the creation of the system calls for considerable outlays and that the country's economic problems have become extremely acute and no reliable calculations of the living wages are now available.

Deputies noted that one should remember the imminent pricing reform which will notably affect people's incomes.

It should be specially stressed, said Viktor Kucherenko, chairman of the Planning, Budget and Financial Commission, that the new bills on taxation are not intended to rectify the shaky financial situation at the expense of the population. "The introduction of these new laws will cost the state two to three billion roubles," he said. "But we hope that later these losses will be compensated by the growth of people's incomes".

Transcaucasus Situation

Armenia, Nakhichevan Agree to Cease-Fire 25 Jan

*LD2501190890 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] We have just received another TASS news item from the Transcaucasus. Talks between the Armenian National Movement and the People's Front of Nakhichevan ended today with the reaching of an agreement on a cease-fire along the whole frontier between the Armenian SSR and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The talks, which have been taking place in the frontier settlement of Yeraskh in the Araratskiy Rayon of Armenia, were organized by Major-General Surkov, USSR people's deputy and head of the Political Department of the Yerevan garrison.

In accordance with the agreement, all forces of informal organizations which are fighting each other there must cease firing today, beginning at 1600 Moscow time, along the whole frontier between Armenia and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. It has been agreed that a meeting between the leaders of the two informal organizations will take place on 27 January for practical work in drawing back their armed detachments to a safe distance from the frontier. Detachments of the Soviet Army will guarantee the fulfillment of this agreement.

Also discussed at the meeting was the question of the fate of citizens of Armenian and Azerbaijani nationality who have gone missing during the conflict. This question, and also the question of the resumption of the work of the railway, will be discussed at subsequent meetings of the two organizations.

A meeting between the first secretaries of the rayon committees of the party of the Ilyichevskiy Rayon of the Nakhichevan ASSR and the Araratskiy Rayon of Armenia took place after the talks.

Army Daily Reports on Reconciliation Attempt

*PM2501162590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 24 Jan 90 First Edition p 1*

[Special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev report: "First Difficult Steps"]

[Text] Yerevan-Nakhichevan-Yerevan, 23 Jan—The village of Yeraskh, Araratskiy Rayon, where the border

runs between Armenia and Azerbaijan's Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR]: Today this is the most tense sector in the region. It was right here that fierce fighting developed recently between the opposing sides' large forces. And thousands of vigilantes are now concentrated here on both sides. The village resembles a combat camp. Armed posts have been set up everywhere, and vehicles are being stopped all the time to be checked.

Quite close by, some 300 meters away, where the Nakhichevan ASSR's Ilichevskiy Rayon begins, the posts of Azerbaijani militants are situated.

Internal troopers are serving in the independent role of an armed buffer between the two warring groupings on a kind of demarcation line. Today a tense silence reigns here, and combat operations have been suspended. Peace talks have begun between the opposing sides on the initiative of the military. Participating in them from Armenia are M. Serobyanyan, secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, and V. Dayan, deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers. Azerbaijan is represented by Z. Gadzhiev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, and A. Dzhalilov, first secretary of the oblast party committee. Also participating are leaders of local party and soviet organs from both sides, representatives of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, members of the boards of informal organizations, and Colonel Yu. Nauman, senior inspector of the USSR Defense Ministry Ground Forces Political Directorate. The talks are being conducted by USSR People's Deputy Major General M. Surkov, acting in the role of conciliator between the sides. Quite frankly, he has had to grasp the profession of diplomat in a difficult situation. And the talks themselves are very unusual—they are taking place in a neutral zone, in an unprepossessing booth of the State Automobile Inspectorate.

The discussion makes difficult progress, and verbal clashes flare up all the time. Delving into the history of the conflict, one side accuses the other. And so forth. But still Mikhail Semenovich contained the outbursts of emotion, bringing the "diplomats" back to present-day problems. And here is the first result. An agreement was reached for each side to pull back hail guns and other artillery pieces 5 km.

The talks continued the next day but at once entered an impasse. Members of the board of the Armenian National Movement [ANM] laid down an ultimatum: An injured man who, according to available information, is in the Nakhichevan Hospital, was to be returned. Only in this case would the Armenian side continue the dialogue.

Representatives of the Azerbaijan People's Front averred that the injured man was safe. The leaders of the ANM did not believe it. Gen Surkov proposed setting out without delay for Nakhichevan to make sure of everything for himself. ANM leader B. Ararktsyan

insisted on flying with him. But this was inadmissible, and the general did not agree to it. What was to be done?

I suggested recording a conversation with the injured man on a dictaphone, and perhaps this would convince the Armenian side. It was decided.

We flew by helicopter to Nakhichevan. In addition to Gen Surkov, Col Yu. Nauman and the author of these lines took the role of parliamentarians. Flying with us were N. Talybov, member of the People's Front Board, and A. Alekperov, Nakhichevan ASSR deputy minister of internal affairs.

Dozens of people—medical personnel, informants, militants—were already awaiting us in the central city hospital. We came under a ceaseless hail of questions. The discussion turned into shouts, and the atmosphere was getting inflamed. The numbers of people who had died in Baku, which exceeded official information by hundreds of times, were shouted into our faces. We tried to convince them that this was a lie, rumors which someone finds advantageous to spread.

Still Mikhail Semenovich Surkov managed to quell the emotions and to calm people. I never cease to be amazed by this man, at the way he is able to speak with people and find a way out of the most complex situations. At last a meeting with the injured man. The doors to his ward were securely guarded. He was Vagan Oganessyan, a student in Yerevan State University's Law Faculty. Following a battle, he was driving in a vehicle with three comrades to change posts but, because of the darkness and the mist, he lost his way, ended up on the Azerbaijan side, and was wounded. He was picked up unconscious. His condition is serious, but he can talk. He reported that he was being treated well there and that the physicians were doing all they could.

We flew back. In the helicopter we listened to a brief monologue by People's Front representative N. Talybov. He is a trained physician, but now he is a militant. He said hotly that he had not been home for many days now, that he had not seen his children, and that he was tired of fighting. He realizes that neighboring peoples must not fight each other. They had lived as brothers for decades, but it was advantageous to someone to unleash this bloody conflict. To whom?—Namik does not know.

At the headquarters of the Armenian vigilantes I was surrounded by a solid wall of people. I had to play the dictaphone tape over and over. They seemed to be convinced that the injured man really was their comrade. The talks would continue.

These are still just the first, very difficult steps toward long-awaited peace between the two neighboring peoples. How I would like to believe that reason will prevail in the end.

MVD: 98 Killed Since State of Emergency

*LD2601074490 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0730 GMT 26 Jan 90*

[Text] Baku, 26 Jan (TASS)—TASS special correspondents report:

In accordance with the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 15 January 1990, 226 people had been detained for administrative reasons and 256 for violating the curfew in Baku up to 25 January. Confiscation of firearms and other weapons is continuing. This data is cited in a report by Lieutenant General Vladimir Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku.

As your TASS correspondents have been informed at the USSR Interior Ministry press service, the total number of deaths in Baku since the moment of the imposition of the state of emergency is 98.

MVD Official Interviewed

*LD2501165290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1400 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] On the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia. Our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov has interviewed Militia Major General (Yuriy Aleksandrovich Kukushkin), USSR deputy minister of internal affairs and head of the Main Investigation Administration.

[Fedorov] Yuriy Aleksandrovich, it has already been 6 days since the state of emergency was introduced in Baku. What has this forced measure achieved? What can be said today?

[(Kukushkin)] This measure has primarily achieved an end to the pogroms and arson in Baku. I have here the figures on the dynamics of the pogroms and arson. From 13-16 [January] the number of pogroms rose. On the 13th it was 25, and on 16th, 64. Over the last 2 weeks 246 pogroms have been registered in Baku overall, and all of them before 20 January. From the 20th there has not been a single one. More or less systematic work has now begun on the part of the investigative operational groups of the USSR Procuracy, the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the KGB. In all, 31 criminal activities of various kinds have to be investigated—from ordinary robberies to deliberate murders. It is essential to stress that local investigators are taking an active part in this work. The other day, by order of Comrade Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs, 43 investigators of the Azerbaijan MVD were commended for professional skill displayed in investigating criminal cases in complex conditions and the successes thereby achieved. The situation is now complex, of course, but is somewhat stabilizing.

[Fedorov] What are the most dangerous tendencies you observed in the course of these events? I have in mind the purely criminal side of the matter.

[(Kukushkin)] Practice in our country and throughout the world shows that events like the current conflict in

the Transcaucasus inevitably provide an impetus to the invigoration of the criminal element. This cannot, perhaps, be grasped from the statistics, but the population feels this immediately. The curfew and the presence of troops in Baku and certain other regions restrains, in the main, street crime, but as concerns thefts, burglaries, and especially embezzlements and other abuses in the trade and public catering sectors, these crimes are practically uninfluenced by emergency measures. The existence of a large quantity of firearms in the hands of various persons, including criminals, has created and is creating for the militia extremely difficult conditions for preventing armed robberies, and road vehicle hijackings. In conditions of instability of the situation and lack of control, thieves and speculators of all kinds feel very free.

The situation which did arise in some regions of Transcaucasia plays first of all into the hands of organized criminal groups, operators of the so-called 'shadow economy'. For example, one could say here that the work of special investigators of the investigation department of the Main Investigation Administration for looking into especially large embezzlements—who were in Azerbaijan working in a number of organizations in Baku and other regions, towns of Azerbaijan—became more complicated. It is not important for criminals who is fighting whom; money does not smell, as they say. In the criminal case of the embezzlement of alcohol spirits from Azerbaijan and its sales in Armenia, there were eight people arrested. Among them are two Azeris—these are materially responsible persons, the immediate embezzlers—and six Armenians, these are the carriers and dealers in the Armenian territory. The sum of this embezzlement is over R1 million. Moreover, this criminal group operated during the past year in conditions of the growing conflict, in conditions of the road blocks. It turned out that the blockade does not extend to the cisterns with stolen alcohol. Such smart operators stuff their pockets at the expense of any social complications.

[Fedorov] A final question, one of concern for everybody: How has the operational situation shaped up in the past 24 hours in these regions of the country?

[(Kukushkin)] Over the past 24 hours the summary is more calm than previously. For Baku, a very unpleasant road accident has been recorded. An armored patrol carrier hit a Zhiguli car, and there were two casualties. In Gydanza, four people penetrated the urban communications center, threatening with firearms. They stole four pistols and ammunition rounds. There was an attack on a militiaman in the same place; he suffered knife and bullet wounds. The militiaman has been sent to the hospital.

The road blockade continues in Nagorno-Karabakh. The situation is tense, but no serious crimes have been recorded there. In the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic the situation is, in general, under control. No clashes on an interethnic basis have been recorded.

In Armenia, there have been attacks on Armvzryvprom [Armenian Explosives Industry Association] premises with the aim of theft of weapons. In general it has to be said that the handing in of weapons is proceeding in a very interesting way in Armenia. It is mainly hunting guns that are being handed in. True, there is also one armored patrol carrier that they returned, and 11 trucks and a Vaz car that they are giving back as well, but few rifles are being handed in.

We will hope that with the introduction of the emergency measures, the situation will stabilize. But for this what is needed is the support of all healthy forces of the public both in Azerbaijan and in Armenia. Only then will it be possible to count on final success.

Nechayev Updates Situation

*LD2501205690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Our correspondent has just had a telephone conversation with Major General Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Nechayev, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Interior Troops Political Directorate.

[Begin Nechayev recording] Despite the fact that the situation in Baku is being controlled by the interior troop units, the Soviet Army, and the Committee for State Security, it is still tense. The general strike in the town is continuing. Only enterprises providing vital services are functioning. There was shooting in the night. Measures are being implemented to ensure the regime of the state of emergency. The military unit personnel, together with the staff of other bodies, are involved in carrying out operations to isolate rayons in order to detain any armed extremist elements or guerillas there. As a result of these operations, several dozen people have been detained. Duplicating equipment, technical propaganda means, a considerable number of military uniforms, and printed material have been confiscated. Anti-army moods are still not abating. This is in spite of the address by the republican authorities. These moods assume the form of slogans, of threats which are still being meted out to servicemen and members of their families, and in the form of actions. Thus, in Baku, two apartments belonging to officers from an interior troop unit have been plundered. The commanders and political staff of the interior troops and of the Soviet Army hold meetings with labor collectives, rayon party and economic activists, leaders, and party committee secretaries at enterprises. A search is underway for a joint way to tackle the problems of returning life to normal.

The situation in Gyandzha, Khanlar, and Shaumyan rayons is still tense. The extremist elements continue provocations against the army and the Russian speaking population. Various provocative rumors are being circulated. In the village of Manashid, the electrical power station which supplies Shaumyan rayon has been put out of action. A rally has been held near the Khanlar rayon

party committee. At it an appeal addressed to a number of informal organizations and states requesting support was made public.

In a number of rayons the population positively appraises the actions of the interior troops, looking upon the servicemen as their protectors. In Shaumyan rayon, with the participation of the interior troops, 55 hostages have been exchanged. Twenty seven of them were Azerbaijanis and 28 Armenians. In Nagorno Karabakh and the areas bordering it, the situation is becoming somewhat more stable. This can be partially explained by a number of measures taken to unblock the roads. No armed clashes, pogroms, arson attacks, dead, or injured people among the population have been registered.

Regarding the Armenian SSR: The operational situation in the town of Yerevan and the republic's rayons remains complex. Cases of the theft of various types of armaments and military uniforms are still taking place. No armed clashes on interethnic grounds have been registered. The gangs of armed guerillas on the border with Nakhichevan ASSR near the population centre of (Yera) can still be seen. The weapons and ammunition stolen earlier are still being returned throughout the republic's rayons. [end recording]

Media Report on Evacuations, Refugees

Numbers Cited on Evacuees

*LD2601105990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0600 GMT 26 Jan 90*

[Excerpts] There is no let-up in the Transcaucasus drama. [passage omitted]

Today the problem of the evacuation of the Russian-speaking population from Azerbaijan, primarily the families of servicemen, has come to the fore. By the morning of 25 January, 30,232 members of the families of officers and warrant officers in the Soviet Army had been evacuated, as well as 2,379 border guards, 528 internal troops, and hundreds of KGB personnel. These figures are carried by today's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. [passage omitted]

Over 30,000 Evacuated

*LD2501231290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
2030 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Over 30,000 people, including members of the families of servicemen of the Soviet Army and Navy have been evacuated from Azerbaijan. The country's government is taking measures to render urgent material aid to them. On the territory of the USSR, all the establishments of the country's Gosbank are accepting means for the fund to aid families of the servicemen evacuated from Azerbaijan.

'Painful' Problem Reported

*PM2501150790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 23 Jan 90 First Edition pp 1,3*

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent: "Yerevan: Growing Number of Refugees"]

[Text] Yerevan, 20 Jan—The atmosphere in the republic and its capital remains tense and explosive.

One of the most painful problems at the moment is the refugee problem.

It is well known that this is a misfortune from which both sides are suffering. Large numbers of Azerbaijanis were at one time forced to leave Armenia. And now it has become impossible for the Armenians to continue living in Azerbaijan.

Every morning the brief conference of the operations commission attached to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian Council of Ministers begins with a discussion of the refugees and how to solve the most urgent problems connected with finding them somewhere to live, providing them with medical services, and deciding what is going to become of them. The stream of refugees grows with every day. Even now, there are more than 5,000 refugees in Yerevan and their numbers are expected to reach 30,000 in the next few days. Moreover, most of these people are elderly or people who had found it difficult to leave Baku earlier. They all need shelter. The following figures show just how difficult this task is to resolve. There are now 220,000 refugees from the so-called first flood in the republic. Some 98,000 of them are still waiting to be housed and, on top of this, there are still 514,000 people in the earthquake zone without a roof over their heads.

The military were among the first to extend a helping hand to the victims. The Yerevan Garrison Command has decided to make available five small houses in Razdanskiy Rayon to accommodate refugees.

Of course, with time, people will be given warmth and housing. But an intelligent answer to the question of how such a thing could have happened is hardly likely to be found. Tell me, what possible threat could be posed by the helpless 80-year-old woman, S. Avakova, whom I saw yesterday in the Yerevan Research Institute of Traumatology and Orthopedics, where she had been taken straight from the aircraft? Having brutally beaten her up, her torturers had then thrown her from a window on the second floor. Why?

Here in the institute, I also met victims from the other side. Junior Sergeant Aleksandr Kutys from Vinnitsa Oblast, Junior Sergeant Ivan Makhnachev from Stavropol Kray, and Private Shukyur Nuraliyev from Fergana Oblast, all members of the internal troops, were wounded during an attack on them by Armenian militants out to seize weapons.

Come to your senses, people, open your eyes! People all over the country are now appealing to your reason.

Militia Commander Quoted

*LD2501171990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[From "IZVESTIYA review"]

[Text] We will start with a report from Baku. The material bears today's date. IZVESTIYA's special correspondent describes in detail the course of the evacuation of the refugees, among whom there are quite a few representatives of the Russian-speaking population. Russians are leaving the capital of Azerbaijan, Colonel General Shatalin, commander of the internal services troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, confirmed. This is giving rise to concern among realistically thinking residents of Baku. They are requesting that the evacuation be stopped, understanding what a loss it can cause to the republic. Many Azerbaijanis, however, are being subjected to violence. The colonel general told the correspondent about the tactics being used by the militants. Today, just as before, they are terrorizing the families of servicemen. It is typical of them to suddenly and indiscriminately open fire.

The seizing of soldiers is continuing. Military camps are regularly being shelled. There are new elements to their tactics, too. The militants have started to wear militia and military uniforms thereby making the attacks all the more unexpected and lessening the vigilance of the troops escorting convoys.

In a word, the situation in Baku remains tense. This is also confirmed by a report from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs which is being published in today's issue.

Appeals Abound in Transcaucasus Turmoil**Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet**

*NC2501194490 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1813 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Appeal adopted on 22 January [date as heard] by the "extraordinary meeting" of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet addressed to "all peoples in Azerbaijan SSR"—read by announcer]

[Text] Esteemed fellow countrymen, the declaration of a state of emergency in Baku City and the fighting it has caused, have resulted in deaths and created a wave of justified indignation among the city's entire population.

Various irresponsible individuals, including the central press organs, have spread reports that a move has been made against the Russians in the republic. As such, they have tried to tarnish the historic friendship between the Azerbaijani and Russian peoples and to create discord between these two friendly peoples. This has disturbed all people in Azerbaijan.

On behalf of the people of many nationalities in the republic, the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet is making it known in a responsible way that those who harbor designs against the existing friendship between the Azerbaijani and Russian peoples—who have helped and supported each other at difficult times—are our enemies. Nothing can divert attention from those who try to disrupt our republic's international traditions and from the true criminals in the tragic situation in the Azerbaijan SSR.

Our friendship and brotherhood are eternal. There is no doubt about that; it cannot be otherwise.

You can rest assured during these difficult times that the Azerbaijanis will further strengthen their friendly ties with you and do everything possible to prevent the strong ties between us from being broken.

Baku City Leader

*LD2501123190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1100 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Konstantin Vasiliyevich Shcherbakov, first deputy chairman of the Baku City Executive Committee, appealed to the city's residents on radio in Baku today. We have also decided to repeat this appeal.

[Begin recording] [Shcherbakov] I am a native of Baku. I am a Russian, born in Baku, nurtured and reared by the soil of Azerbaijan, the soil of my forefathers, and raised by the people. Here it was that I developed as an individual. I have worked in Baku for almost 40 years. I have never set myself apart from the Azeri people. And indeed, who could have thought, just 3 years ago, that a time would come when we would begin to divide ourselves up according to nationality?

I have masses of Azeri friends and comrades, both among workers and among intellectuals. I appeal to you, my friends and comrades, to all Azeris; you must consider things and allow only actions that have been carefully weighed. Otherwise, they will only work to the advantage of our enemies. This must not be permitted. There is no doubt that history will give proper evaluation to the events that have occurred, and will ultimately make a political appraisal of all that has been done, and the culprits, both big and small, will be found.

As first deputy chairman of the city executive committee, I would also like to state the following on behalf of the Baku City Soviet. Things are hard for us. But while grieving today for those who have died, we must not forget the living. We must not forget that our city must live. There are almost 2 million people here, who are awaiting tomorrow with alarm and hope. We must provide heating, water, and food for children, women, the elderly, and all residents of Baku. We must restore the movement of transport without delay, particularly that related to servicing the municipal economy. Food

enterprises, repair services, and engineering structures must function. In short, the entire activity of the city must be restored.

But for this to happen, we must all unite. The main thing is not to allow further outburst of passions, and not to send new waves of interethnic strife flooding out on to the streets. For, after all, attempts are being made in some places to look for new culprits for these events among the Russian-speaking population of Baku. Already, Russians and representatives of other nationalities have begun appearing at the airport and the railway station, trying to abandon their homes and get out of the republic, under the impression of the rumors that are spreading. To a certain extent these rumors were whipped up by the evacuation of servicemen's families of the Baku Garrison. I appeal to you. There are no grounds for leaving the city, the graves of your mothers, fathers, your nearest and dearest, your home.

The Baku City Soviet and rayon executive committees are at present carrying out explanatory work among the population at housing offices and housing authorities. Representatives of the city's intelligentsia and clergyman have spoken on radio, appealing to Azeris and the Russian-speaking population.

My friends, men and women of Azerbaijan, brothers and sisters, I have a great request to make of you. Do not yield to your emotions. Persuade those of you who may today be blinded by their grief not to lay blame on the heads of the innocent. Persuade your Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Polish, and Jewish neighbours that no one and nothing is threatening them, so that they will not leave their home town. Only together, jointly with you, can we withstand and survive this bitter hour and common tragedy. [end recording]

Russians Living in Baku

NC2501131990

[Editorial Report] Baku Domestic Service at 0600 GMT on 25 January, carries two appeals to Russians living in the city urging them not to leave and pledging friendship and cooperation, stressing that the task of the moment is the restoration of coexistence and the avoidance of provocations.

One appeal is by Dr Nezahir Abbasov, described as a veteran of the Great Patriotic War, who speaks first in Azeri and then in Russian. The other is by a woman who speaks in Russian and identifies herself as Valentina Nikolayevna Sergeyeva. She says she arrived in Baku 12 years ago and describes the friendship and generosity shown to her by the people of Baku. She also urges Russians to resist provocations, overcome fear and panic, extend a helping hand to Azerbaijan, and not to leave the city.

At 0800 GMT the radio, monitored with fair reception, carries a 10-minute appeal in Russian by Konstantin Vasiliyevich Shcherbakov, first deputy chairman of the

Baku city soviet, to: "His friends, all the Azerbaijani men and women." He begins by noting: "All of us, the Russian-speaking population of the republic—Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Poles, Jews, and others—are bearing all that has happened as our personal tragedy, and together with the Azerbaijanis, we bow our heads and weep for the victims. It is no secret that among the Baku citizens who fell there are also representatives of the Russian, Jewish, and other nationalities."

After calling for closer unity he says: "Over decades if not centuries, the Russian-speaking population has proved its sincere and devoted affection for the Azerbaijani people. We have no other fatherland; beloved Azerbaijan is our fatherland."

He then emphasizes that all the nationalities in the republic have always lived as a family and helped each other in every way, and tells of his personal experiences in this regard as a native of Baku. Enumerating the immediate needs of the city and admitting that there have been individual cases of "rude behavior" towards Russian speakers, he goes on to stress: "According to our information, over the last few days, not even one incident of lawless acts against representatives of these nationalities has been reported."

He concludes by appealing to Russian speakers not to abandon their fatherland as there is no reasons for them to do so and declares that the city soviet and others are now conducting a broad campaign of enlightenment among the population.

He ends with an appeal to his Azerbaijani brothers and sisters not to give in to emotion, not to transfer blame on to the heads of the innocent, and to convince their Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Polish, and Jewish neighbors that "Nothing and no one is threatening them and that they should not abandon their city."

NKAO Leaders

NC2501222590 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 25 Jan 90

["To USSR Supreme Soviet, Supreme Soviet of Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, Parliaments of the World, United Nations, and to All People of Goodwill"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] Stepanakert, 21 Jan (ARMENPRES) Compatriots, citizens of the world: Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, and Getzshen Subrayon, which make up the last little Armenian island, appeal to you. These areas survived by the strength of their spirit in their historical homeland which was forcibly annexed by Azerbaijan. We are under [word indistinct] and harsh blockade. Because of mountainous winter conditions and bad weather, flights, which are our sole "lifeline," are irregular. For incomprehensible reasons and without any prior warning, they are sometimes cancelled. The Azerbaijanians have bombed the water

pipes for Stepanakert, the oblast center, where the unfortunate Armenian refugees have taken shelter.

At present, NKAO is surrounded by brigands and marauders who are armed to the teeth and have organized the massacres of Sumgait, Kirovabad, Nakhichevan, and Baku. In this exceedingly dangerous situation, the Azerbaijani leaders, exploiting the NKAO's besieged position from every angle, has as a final blow cut the telephone and cable lines, the only lines of salvation with the outside world. Radio and television broadcasts to the oblast from Moscow and Yerevan have been terminated. They have occupied the airways in Shusha like pirates. There is no communication by high frequency equipment, telex, or radio. It is impossible to call doctors or specialists from the center for the dying and bed-ridden patients.

Yet, though they face deadly danger, the people of Karabakh are not discouraged. The state of emergency is not being implemented in any Azerbaijan rayons but only introduced in the NKAO and other Armenian settlements. In effect, martial law has been introduced as part of the state of emergency, and that under these conditions mass arrests are being made and arms confiscated from the Armenian guerrillas. In view of these facts, we appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet, Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], the parliaments of the world, the United Nations, and to all peoples of goodwill with an anguished request that they raise their voice in defense of the besieged NKAO and extend a helping hand.

With hope and confidence in the name of freedom-loving Artsakh [NKAO]

[Signed] People's deputies elected from NKAO Zori Balayan, Vagan Gabrielyan, Vachakan Grigoryan, Boris Dadamyanyan, and Genrik Pogosyan; Robert Kocharyan, Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy; Semyon Babayan, chairman of the oblast party executive committee; and chairmen of the oblast rayon and city party executive committees Maksim Mirzoyan, Andranik Agababyan, Slava Seyranyan, Valeri Chavadyan, and Elmir Nvasardyan.

Stepanakert, 21 January.

Russian Party, Leaders

LD2501211390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1757 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jan (TASS)—The Russian Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR have made an appeal to the peoples of Russia and to all citizens of the Soviet Union to strengthen and develop and constructive public dialogue proceeding from confrontation to reasonable compromise and to a quest for mutually acceptable decisions. Realization of the necessity of dialogue is one of the public insights of recent times. It concerns just resolution of strike clashes,

of interethnic dramas, and of the problems of interaction of various public movements, generations, and social groups.

Being a complex national formation, the Russian Federation, in which more than one hundred peoples reside over a vast stretch of land, advocates unconditional respect for and extension of their rights, of ethnic originality, of mutual understanding and friendship. It advocates real independence of autonomous formation and an increase in their possibilities.

The foreign policy activity of the state is directly linked with the solution of internal problems. The time-old issue which just a few years ago hung over every Soviet and Russian home—will there not be war—has been moved aside. The cause of peace is being strengthened. But we are far from becoming euphoric. We evaluate everything soberly. We need the Army, and Russians favor unconditional respect for it, appropriate equipment for it, and an increase in the prestige of troop service. At the same time, it is necessary also to continue to ensure peace primarily by political and nonmilitary means.

In an alarming hour, here is our brotherly word to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Perceiving with deep, heartfelt pain the bitter news about the tragic consequences of interethnic conflict, we appeal on behalf of the peoples of Russia to your sense of reason—for the sake of your children, mothers, sisters and wives, stop the wave of violence! We believe: goodwill shall prevail, the appeal says in conclusion

Estonian Scientists

LD2501220290

[Editorial Report] Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian at 1800 GMT on 25 January broadcasts a 3-minute report on a session of the Council of the Estonian Union of Scientists on 25 January. Apart from regular matters, the radio notes, the Council discussed a telegram that had just arrived from the Presidium of the Azerbaijani SSR Academy of Sciences. The telegram describes what is happening in Baku. Enn-Peeter Saari, chair of the board of the Union of Scientists is quoted as saying: "What is happening in Baku is something ten times bigger in scale and more awful than in Tbilisi." He proceeds to describe, among other things, how the military shoot at the medical personnel. "The question is naturally linked not the Karabakh problem but to defending the sovereignty of the republic. And this is seen as the main motivation and reason why the forces were brought in," he says.

The Council decide on quick action, the radio says, with an address to the International Red Cross, as well as to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The address refers to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies judgement with respect to the Soviet Army in Afghanistan, and Saari reportedly says: "And it is quite clear that what is taking place now in Baku and in Azerbaijan as a whole is our domestic Afghanistan. Our address ends with the words:

The Estonian Union of Scientists requests the assistance of the International Red Cross so that an immediate end will be put to the bloodshed taking place in Azerbaijan."

Patriarch Petitions

PM2501163590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Message From Patriarch Pimen"]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jan—Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia today sent telegrams to Vazgen I, supreme patriarch and catholicos of all Armenians, and to Shaykh al-Islam Allakhshukyr Pasha-Zade, chairman of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of the Transcaucasus. Both messages reflect profound grief in connection with the tragic events which are the consequence of interethnic conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

We feel profound sympathy with the children, women, and the elderly, with all who have experienced and continue to experience the burden of these events, who have suffered the irreparable loss of relatives. We pray for all who are suffering and for the victims, the telegrams say.

Patriarch Pimen declares that he shares the acute alarm of all soberminded citizens in our country caused by the persisting and growing danger of fratricidal war in the region and the threat to the Soviet state's integrity. Such a catastrophic development ought to be halted without any delay.

Addressing the supreme spiritual authorities in Armenia and Azerbaijan, Patriarch Pimen expresses confidence that, in this critical hour they will help their brothers and sisters to follow the path of resisting illegality and arbitrariness, the path of legally solving the conflict, of restoring peace and security.

The telegrams emphasize the conviction that believers, striving for their people's good, should not commit injustice against another people. There must be no abuse of religious feelings for the purpose of fanning interethnic enmity and hatred.

Patriarch Pimen expresses confidence that the religious leaders will do everything possible to restore civic peace.

May mutual peace, accord, and love reign between the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan, the telegrams signed by Patriarch Pimen say.

Dubinyak on Russian Speaking Nationalities

NC2501122590 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1115 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Notice by military commandant of Baku—read by announcer]

[Text] The situation in Baku is (?peaceful). No one has been killed.

Nevertheless, (?establishments), factories, and transportation services are not operating in the city. All this impedes normal life in Baku.

I appeal to the workers in Baku not to heed fabrications, [word indistinct], and calls. All this (?affects) the various fields in the city. A number of nationalist individuals have set up [word indistinct] groups. Arms and other illegal items have been seized from them. All these people will account to the law.

I regret that rumors are being spread in the city to the effect that hundreds or thousands of people have been killed as a result of the tragic incidents. This is untrue. (?No armed clash) has taken place during the past day. However, the (?provocateurs) are doing everything possible to urge the people to clash with the military troops and other Russian speaking nationalities. They are creating undesirable incidents against the military troops.

The military commandant of Baku city appeals to the people of Baku to urge the Azerbaijanis to prevent the Russian speaking nationalities from leaving. They must realize that all these provocations are not actually against the Russian speaking nationalities but serve those who do not think about the future of Azerbaijan.

I am confident that the people of Azerbaijan, [words indistinct], and the popular forces will [words indistinct] [Signed] Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku City.

Cites Detentions, Confiscations

LD2601070890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0635 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Baku, 26 Jan (TASS)—TASS special correspondents Aleksandr Budris and Vladimir Fomin report:

The last 24 hours were relatively calm, as a result of the measures being taken by the administration of the city commandant's office and the areas under the commandant. This is stated in this morning's report from Lieutenant General Vladimir Dubinyak, the commandant of Baku. The work of finding and detaining extremist groups and confiscate arms and ammunition is continuing, with assistance from citizens.

Publication of the newspapers AZADLYK and AZERBAIJAN has been forbidden, in accordance with the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the order of the city's military commandant. Rumors which are being spread that publication of other newspapers has been banned and that the commandant's office is obstructing the work of the television are false. The report stresses that the administration of the commandant's office has an interest in improving the provision of information to the population and is taking measures to resume the operations of all mass media.

In the last 24 hours, 2 people were detained for crimes, 34 for administrative violations, and 111 for violating the curfew. One grenade, 284 shotgun shells and 4 other

weapons were confiscated. The troops did not use arms in the special region, the commandant noted.

Views Continuing Problems

LD2501134990 Moscow TASS in English 1328 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Baku January 25 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Alexander Budris and Vladimir Fomin:

A regular report issued by Baku Military Commandant Vladimir Dubinyak notes that there were no casualties in Baku in the past 24 hours. The situation in the city is stable, and there were no serious violations of public law and order.

However, most factories and public transport are at a standstill. This has paralysed the city.

Authorities detained some leaders of nationalist and militant groups. All these people will be brought to court, the report says. Weapons and articles used to commit crimes are seized.

Despite the facts, groundless rumours about many hundreds and even thousands of killed Baku residents are circulating in the city. Leaflets calling for civil disobedience are being handed out to people.

The report says that extremists are attempting to fan up anti-army and anti-Russian sentiments. For this purpose trouble-makers are circulating rumours about alleged brutalities committed by troops.

At the same time the commandant's office receives many Baku residents who are ethnic Azerbaijanis expressing the opinion that provocations and calls spearheaded against other ethnic groups are beneficial only to those who do not think about Azerbaijan's future, the commandant stresses.

Aid to Azerbaijan Refugees Reported

LD2501174890 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—The serious deterioration of inter-ethnic relations in Azerbaijan and Armenia has led to human casualties and the suffering of thousands of innocent people.

The State Commission for Emergency Situations at the USSR Council of Ministers has started handling the problems of refugees fleeing Azerbaijan.

A coordinating refugee relief group, established by the Executive Committee of the Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the USSR, is working in close contact with governmental organisations.

A medical station has been set up at the Armenian mission in Moscow in view of the great number of women and children refugees.

deterioration in bilateral relations owing to some of their irresponsible actions," the minister pointed out.

It remains to be added that there is still a great deal to be done to normalize Bulgarian-Turkish relations: It is important not to waste time.

West Europe

UK's Waldegrave Meets With Vorontsov

LD2501231190 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1120 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Kiev, 25 Jan (TASS)—William Waldegrave, minister of state at the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, stated in the Ukrainian capital today that Soviet-British relations have now improved and have acquired a new character and dynamism. He has been on a visit to the USSR for comprehensive Soviet-British political consultations.

In an interview to TASS special correspondent Igor Peskov before flying off to Brussels, he noted that the improvement in relations between the countries is demonstrated in particular by the fact that beside "maintaining warm relations between the leaders of the two countries, regular, frank, and businesslike discussions of international problems and bilateral relations have recently begun at every level."

"One important result of my conversation in Moscow", said William Waldegrave, "in particular those with Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, is that the sides identified a similarity of positions on most international problems. This was the case, above all, with the discussion on the situations in the Near East and southern Africa, and of matters relating to reinforcing European security."

According to the minister of state, the sides were united in the view that direct dialogue should begin as soon as possible between the PLO and Israel, and that this was a "necessary step on the road to convening an international conference on a Near East settlement."

Concerning the situation in Eastern Europe, William Waldegrave noted that his country welcomes the changes taking place there.

Great Britain supports the initiative on holding a pan-European summit meeting as early as this year, at which all the problems connected with reinforcing European security in the new conditions should be discussed, he said.

In reply to the correspondent's question about Great Britain's reaction to the events in Soviet Transcaucasia, the minister of state said that his government "fully realizes the need for the Soviet authorities to restore law and order there, and that this is the Soviet Union's internal affair."

Falin Meets FRG Economic Cooperation Minister

PM2501143590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 19 January, V.M. Falin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, held talks with J. Warnke, FRG minister for economic cooperation and deputy chairman of the Christian Social Union, who participated in the work of the "Global Forum on the Environment and Development for Survival" in Moscow. There was an exchange of opinions on certain topical questions of the contemporary international situation.

Voronin Meets French Economy Minister

WA2501192890 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA
in Russian 17 Jan 90 p 3

[Report by TASS correspondent A. Krivkykh for RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA: "USSR-France: New Stage of Cooperation"]

[Text] Paris—Talks have been held in the French capital between L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and French Minister of State P. Berezogovoy, minister of economy, finance, and the budget.

A Soviet-French agreement on economic, industrial, and science and technology cooperation between the governments of the two countries was signed in the course of the meeting. A long-term program of cooperation for the period 1991-95, which will define the spheres and forms of bilateral interaction at various levels, including the realization of specific projects, will be drawn up on the basis of this document.

The agreement also provides for the creation of a common intergovernmental Soviet-French commission, which will replace the former "grand" and "small" commissions. Its job is to organize fulfillment of the document which has been signed and encourage and coordinate cooperation between the Soviet Union and France in the sphere of economics, industry, science, and technology.

During negotiations, a proposal was made on increasing the supplies of natural gas from the Soviet Union to France in exchange for the sale by France of consumer goods and foodstuffs to the Soviet Union. The Soviet side also proposed holding in Moscow this March, at the time of the session of the newly formed common intergovernmental commission, a seminar for French businessmen on questions of the creation of USSR joint ventures and the possibilities of their functioning under the conditions of the development of market elements of the economy.

As emphasized at the subsequent news conference, the new Soviet-French agreement ensues directly from the declaration of the principles of the development and upgrading of cooperation, signed during the top-level meeting last July in Paris by M.S. Gorbachev and F. Mitterrand. Both parties see it primarily as an important political document, which, together with the declaration, reflects the new stage in relations between the two states based on goodwill and new thinking. On the other hand, the agreement also has serious economic content. Together with a long-term program it determines the basic directions and forms of cooperation which are intended to ensure its greatest effectiveness.

The agreement which has been reached, L.A. Voronin said at the press conference, creates the legal basis for the new stage of Soviet-French cooperation and secures the conditions for the commissioning of its mechanism. The former analogous agreement, which lasted almost 25 years, had accomplished its mission. Much has changed since then, the head of the Soviet delegation emphasized, and continues to change rapidly in our countries, in Europe, and throughout the world. We must react to this. The priorities mapped out for the development of direct relations and the main fields and directions of cooperation, he pointed out, are pertinent not only now but for the long term also.

Soviet-Finnish Economic Ties Viewed

WA2501192290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
14 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Report on interview with V. Pugin, USSR commercial representative in Finland, by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Shmyganovskiy: "Real and Imaginary Problems"]

[Text] Slightly more than a year ago, a report titled "The Heavy Burden of Mercury" was published in IZVESTIYA, in which an attempt was made to reflect critically on Soviet-Finnish trade issues. What has since changed? Why do we continue to treat with such great attention the topic of our economic relations with this small state whose entire population could fit in Leningrad alone?

No matter how we view the structure of mutual trade in goods which continues to be based 80 percent on oil and other energy forms from our side and machinery, equipment, and highly upgraded goods from the Finnish side, we cannot but note that it was in Suomi that many promising forms of trade were tested which are now practiced in trade with developed capitalist countries. Carrying out large-scale projects, signing 5-year and long-term economic commercial agreements, creating first joint enterprises.... Finland holds on firmly to second place after the FRG in both volume of trade and number of such enterprises. One of the largest commercial representations of the USSR in the Western world, which numbers around 70 specialists, operates in Helsinki.

Therefore, innovation and trail-blazing features are beyond any doubt. At the same time, the practice of commerce is still based on clearing—balanced accounting for mutual deliveries—an anachronism which most states of the world have given up. These "protocol deliveries" are nothing but, so to say, an international version of state orders for many Soviet enterprises.

Commercial Representative V. Pugin, who has worked in the country for about 8 years, on one occasion referred to this system as "the command-administrative system in the foreign economic sphere."

Vladimir Dmitriyevich said: "However, things have historically evolved so that the parties are not about to give up clearing, at least in the next few years. This was also confirmed during a recent visit to Finland by M.S. Gorbachev during which a new 5-year commercial agreement was signed. Major projects for developing the forest resources of the USSR comprehensively on the basis of Finnish technology were discussed, as well as the details of the Kola project, and issues of setting up the first free economic zones.

"Still, the decision of the authorities does not make discussions on the future of clearing a taboo. Some Finnish specialists call it a godsend. Prime Minister H. Holkeri who is a co-chairman of the Finnish segment of the Commission for Economic Cooperation said in an interview that clearing trade is so advantageous for Finland that giving it up should not even be considered for as long as it can be maintained. Others call for switching to regular trade denominated in freely convertible currencies.

"Indeed, the points of view happen to be diametrically opposed. The advantage of the current system is in the fact that it provides a perspective, a certain future for most of the Finnish companies who are our traditional partners; they receive from their banks Finnish markkas (as is known, a convertible currency) for the goods sold rather than clearing rubles. Until recently, our exporters received virtually nothing. The USSR Ministry of Finance "vetoed" technical allowances for their budgets. Now the enterprises have come to own clearing rubles for which, incidentally, a lot can be purchased in Finland.

"Switching to 'free' trade would immediately reduce its volume sharply. However, in whose interest is it to destroy the contacts established for decades?"

[Shmyganovskiy] Therefore, you think that clearing has a future?

[Pugin] No. However, for as long as it is in operation I agree with the head of the Finnish Government.

[Shmyganovskiy] However, Vladimir Dmitriyevich, there are still many negatives. Some of our enterprises tend to do away with "export quotas" looking toward countries where they receive dollars, pounds, and yen for

their goods for which they purchase whatever they want rather than clearing rubles which may be used in the nearest neighbor country in the north of Europe. Is this not the reason why the quality of Soviet deliveries has not been improving, as very many Finnish business leaders with whom I have talked confirm?

[Pugin] In all honesty, it is even getting worse. This involves raw materials as well. They try to sell off everything low-grade through clearing, and everything that is the best through direct contacts, for hard currency.

Everybody knows how substantially our cars, machine tools, and tractors in which they replace the cabin and hydraulic devices are modified in Finland. There is no justification for this situation!

Here is one more example of the lack of confidence in clearing. The Finns asked us to find an opportunity to sell 500 tons of rolled titanium products last year. The State Planning Commission found no such opportunity. Suddenly, it turned out that Tajikistan, whose delegation was visiting Helsinki for negotiations, could offer titanium, as much as 1,000 tons. Having found out that they will be paid "in the wrong currency," representatives of the southern republic withdrew their offer and went West. However, clearing particularly hampers the operation of joint enterprises. A transition to trade in freely convertible currencies at these enterprises appears to be an urgent priority measure. Both sides agree with this; however, nothing has been resolved for incomprehensible reasons.

[Shmyganovskiy] How can trade go on without Soviet suppliers being genuinely interested?

[Pugin] It is an obvious absurdity in this matter that only freely convertible currencies, such as the dollar, mark, crown, and franc, apply toward the fulfillment of export plans. Second, many people are not aware of what can be purchased in Finland for clearing rubles—an accounting unit, albeit conventional, existing only in bank accounts, but quite strong though tied to a single country.

Take a look at the VAZ [Volga Car Works]. It delivers to our neighbors approximately 16,000 passenger cars a year. In keeping with a decision of the collective of this enterprise, equipment for a meat-packing plant was purchased with clearing ruble allowances.

[Shmyganovskiy] They are still not on an equal footing with the Finnish exporters...

[Pugin] Incidentally, at the last talks the Finnish side was the one to address this incongruity. Meanwhile, there is a way out, and a simple one. We have already proposed to make the clearing ruble convertible, and the Finnish economists also support the idea.

In the process, we are not referring to the R2 billion of Soviet exports to Finland (apparently, this number scares everyone!) but the allowances the enterprises get for selling manufactured goods and, in part, timber. This

quota amounts to roughly R100 million, or one-twentieth of the monetary value of exports. Why should they not be converted into any currency at the option of the seller? I am certain that in the course of this much of the allowance will still be used in Finland.

[Shmyganovskiy] Was your proposal accepted?

[Pugin] They promised to "consider" it. However, one gets the impression that even simple issues are not being resolved in the center.

[Shmyganovskiy] Let us go back to allowances for "export quotas." This issue definitely concerns all our commercial employees. It is known that many enterprises export some 1 or 2 percent of the overall volume of products. However, these deliveries require a good deal of care and energy! Why should we not let such factories and plants retain all 100 percent of the currency earned, at least at first, so that they can get on their feet?"

[Pugin] This would be fair. Under the legislation in effect, they could spend 30 percent of the hard-currency proceeds for purchasing consumer goods and foodstuffs for the work force.

[Shmyganovskiy] My interlocutor has never concealed that he is a proponent of the further operation of the foreign trade apparatus. Have his views changed in conjunction with the decentralization of commercial relations?

[Pugin] I have believed and continue to believe that a well-established and skilled apparatus of, say, an office of the commercial representative is not an obstacle in the path of transactions, a Cerberus defending solely the interests of the state, but an assistant, consultant, organizer. According to some calculations, about 900 organizations, including cooperatives, are now active in the Finnish market. The tendency is to not even inform the office of the commercial representative about business trips, negotiations, and contracts. As a result, there is a growing influx of people who have no idea of marketing, trends, and future partners.

The structures already in place are completely ignored. Instead of, say, coming to the Raznoeksport and purchasing consumer goods or foodstuffs through this association (at the best prices) they definitely send out a delegation ("we want to trade ourselves!"), "eat away" a small fortune during business trips—hotels in Helsinki alone can do it!—and as a result purchase everything expensively.

[Shmyganovskiy] Pardon me for being direct, Vladimir Dmitriyevich, but does this not amount to administrative grumbling: They do not report their arrival, they do not recognize the office of the commercial representative, stay away from it, behave willfully?

[Pugin] To your mind, how should the office react if an enterprise attempts to sell its products considerably cheaper than a state organization which argues for every ruble in the course of negotiations? Also, this transaction

may remain secret; catching such an "exporter" red-handed is not easy. Last year, the association Inter-Latviya supplied window glass to Finland at a price almost 30 percent lower than that of the Stroymaterial-intorg. The EstFin joint enterprise signed a transaction for bed linens at R1 million below market prices.

Here is an altogether anecdotal case. The lack of familiarity with local conditions and legislation, of elementary information on the partners, and disregard for the experience of specialists working in Finland brought about the Association Ukrimpeks signing a contract for the exports of vodka and ladies' garments with the company Terro Koski which nobody in the office of the commercial representative was aware of, and which soon went bankrupt.

Only then did the Ukrainian comrades turn to us—for help, of course. Some of the cargo and payments will, perhaps, be returned. However, Ukrimpeks will still suffer considerable losses. In the course of our conversations, it came out that the management of the association did not know that in Finland the state company Alko holds a monopoly on the import of alcoholic beverages and imports of wine or vodka by other companies are carried out only with its permission.

[Shmyganovskiy] Still, isn't this influx of business travelers and spontaneously established contacts rather positive? For example, crossborder trade has increased sharply, almost by a factor of 2.5 compared to 1986.

[Pugin] This is a gratifying fact, but we have agreed to concentrate on the problems not yet solved. What is crossborder trade about? These are mainly exports of above-the-plan products of local provenance and manufacture, in other words, of products belonging to republic stocks. This gives them the right to use all of the proceeds in hard currency for purchasing various goods. However, the foreign trade organizations of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia sometimes export under the guise of crossborder trade goods from all-union stocks (from the raw material and fuel and energy group) which are not mined or produced in these republics. In the process, local goods account for a negligible share. However, as you must have guessed, no allowances to the all-union budget are transferred. This practice infringes on the rights of mining enterprises which receive miniscule proceeds from such deliveries. This brings about social tension.

[Shmyganovskiy] On the other hand, areas adjacent to the border are shackled by licenses needed from close to two dozen all-union organizations. Actually, this means dependence on the bureaucracy which is arbitrary and unpredictable. Everything comes down again to resolving operational issues from the center.

[Pugin] If there were no instances of abuses which I have mentioned we could raise the issue of completely canceling licensing requirements in crossborder trade.

You know, I cannot get over the fact that in Finland with its apparent free market element it is more difficult to

skirt legislation than in our planned and centralized economy. They argue a lot here while a law is under discussion. However, once it has been adopted, everyone sees to it that a partner (competitor, neighbor, or even just a fellow traveler) follows the rules prescribed.

[Shmyganovskiy] ...The report "The Heavy Burden of Mercury" referred to a large imbalance in favor of Finland which has emerged in our trade.

Vladimir Dmitriyevich said: "We are finishing this year with a surplus of almost R100,000 in our favor. We have paid the first installments, over 100 million, toward the so-called special account. All of this is just the beginning. Together with loans, we have to return another R800 million—this is billions of marka..."

Unfortunately, we pay back the debts in oil and other raw materials. At the same time, the world-renowned garment and footwear companies are closing on the other side of the border. They counted on our orders and the rosy promises by visiting optimistic ministers. However, imports of consumer goods from Finland declined by a factor of three in the course of the 5-year plan. This self-restriction is a forced but, perhaps, the only acceptable measure for the authorities of both countries. What about consumers?

As far as the consumers are concerned, they could be helped to at least some degree by a solution to the problems outlined in this article. I think that the most significant issue is making the ruble convertible for the first time...even if this ruble has a somewhat strange name—clearing ruble.

Latin America & Caribbean

Central American Peace Prospects Assessed

WA2501192590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by K. Khachaturov, doctor of historical sciences: "A Time To Gather Stones"]

[Text] On that day in the Salvadoran capital there was the fiercest fighting in all the long years of the civil war. The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) fighters for the first time broke through to the center of the capital and occupied the Sheraton Hotel. For its part, government aircraft conducted bombing raids on the city's working-class quarters.

The delegation of the Soviet committee for solidarity with the peoples of Latin America, which was making a trip through the countries involved in the regional conflicts, was passing the time in the San Salvador airport waiting for the aircraft for their scheduled flight.

By the will of fate we were witnesses to the greatest aggravation of the situation in El Salvador in recent years, this wildly pulsating nerve center of the entire Central American conflict. What are its sources and

causes and, the main thing, the prospects for reconciliation? The purpose of our trip was to obtain answers to these questions and at the same time present the position of the Soviet public concerning ways of peaceful regulation of the regional conflicts.

The most widespread version is that the conflict in Central America originated 10 years ago with the victory of the Sandinists in Nicaragua who were alleged to have proclaimed a "revolution without borders" and provided the impetus for armed conflict in El Salvador. But life has shown that the antagonism in Central America was not provoked by the revolution in Nicaragua. It only proved the possibility of an alternative path of development independent of the will of the "great northern neighbor."

"It was not the Soviet Union, Cuba, or Nicaragua that caused the poverty and social injustice in Central America," said the press secretary for the Guatemalan president, Carlos Anleu. A similar idea was expressed during the meetings with the leadership of the Peace University under the United Nations, which is located in the town of Colon in the outskirts of the Costa Rican capital. Competent scientific research groups are modeling crucial social and foreign political programs here.

According to the substantiated assessment of the author of the program in the area of peaceful regulation of the conflict in Central America, Fabio Castillo, its key unit is the crisis of power in El Salvador, the class egoism of the oligarchy, and the stubborn unwillingness of the government to sit down at the negotiating table with representatives of the FMLN without ultimatums about preliminary and unconditional capitulation of the insurgent movement.

The chairman of the council of the Peace University and its founder, former President of Costa Rica Rodrigo Caraso, recalled: Article 85 of the existing Salvadoran Constitution sanctions the people's right to armed struggle if their aspirations are not satisfied. But the oligarchy and the military clique are trampling upon the basic rights of the people and subjecting them to barbaric repressive measures. Six clergymen were killed recently; before that the head of the country's Roman Catholic church was shot.

In El Salvador the violence of the regime under the power of the military clique and the excesses of the cutthroats from the "death squadrons" are lighting the fires of civil war. To the terror of the authorities and their ultimatums, the FMLN fighters, who are operating in a considerable number of departments of the country, respond with armed resistance.

The deep causes of the social opposition in each Central American country, which are their internal affair, should not stand in the way of a peaceful solution to the regional conflict. The awareness of this truth gained through suffering has given life to the Contadora process which is unprecedented in the history of Latin America.

The neutral Latin American states themselves, including the leading ones, have engaged in this process on the basis of a compromise national and intergovernmental dialogue among the countries in conflict. And then the eight states participating in the Contadora process handed the baton over to the presidents of the five states of Central America which created a mechanism for negotiations, including regular high-level meetings.

...Costa Rican President Oskar Arias received us at home. The Nobel Peace Prize winner, who was given this award for his plan for political regulation in Central America, was depressed, as he put it, by the extreme polarization of forces in the region. "Many years of effort in search of dialogue have been torpedoed. This is my personal impression as a proponent of peace," the president said bitterly. "Violence only generates more violence, and this only plays into the hands of the ultra Right Wing, those who want to resolve the conflict through force." The pessimistic predictions, fortunately, did not come true, reason prevailed, and soon after the aforementioned conversation, hospitable Costa Rica became the location for the meetings of the five presidents who signed the solemn declaration of cooperation in order to bring peace to Central America.

One cannot but see that the United States was trying to draw maximum dividends from the aggravation of the tension in the region, which coincided in time with the Soviet-American meeting in Malta. Washington's reaction to the discovery in El Salvador of a batch of weapons allegedly "of Soviet manufacture" was, to put it mildly, not appropriate to the episode, although the episode actually was not in keeping with the mutual commitments of the Central American countries. But this episode could hardly provide justification for U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker to call Central America "the largest obstacle on the path to improving Soviet-American relations." More so since the Soviet side showed understanding of U.S. interests in this region.

Everything can be seen in comparison. During those same days, when Washington and its regional allies were indignant about a batch of arms sent to El Salvador, detailed development was completed on a plan for American armed intervention against Panama. The "Salvadoran affair" was to have served as a smoke screen to cover preparations in the United States for the largest airborne operation since World War II.

The unparalleled aggression against Panama reactivated methods of the "big stick" policy and "gunboat diplomacy" that seemed to have been relegated to the archives. The imperial instinct, however, has shown striking viability. Independently, our contacts in various countries emphasized that now it was the United States in its relations with its allies that was conducting the same policy of "limited sovereignty" of which people in the West spoke during the years of stagnation, referring to relations between the USSR and its Warsaw Pact allies. The Salvadoran knot must be untied for there is no alternative to a peaceful solution to the conflict,

taking into account the legitimate interests of the opposing sides. But for now, blood is being spilled abundantly in El Salvador and the civilian population has the most victims.

Another key problem of Central American regulation is the disarmament and disbanding of the formations of Nicaraguan contras who have become entrenched in Honduras. There are no less than 10,000 of them and they are the strike force for potential aggression, a source of tension in Nicaragua, and a channel for diverting material and human resources for defense needs. "The Contras must understand that military activities in Nicaragua are jeopardizing the elections in this country," Oskar Arias told us. For the author, who has first-hand experience with the situation in Afghanistan, the American military bases with the contras who are quartered there can conventionally be compared in miniature to the dushman nests in Peshawar.

We ended up in Tegucigalpa, the Honduran capital, on the eve of the disarming of the contras and the disbanding of their formations as stipulated by the agreement among the presidents of the five countries. "How does Honduras intend to fulfill its commitment?"—we asked the country's President Jose Azcona who received us in his office.

When referring to the Salvadoran crisis the president was inclined to restrict the conversation to an assessment of the situation in the other country. "Military law reigns in El Salvador and the government is violating human rights," he said. "American influence in this country is increasing, but El Salvador is a blind alley for the United States because mountains of weapons will not solve the social problems." The president's conclusions are reasonable, but what is the situation with respect to demobilization of the contras?

"In reality the contras are peaceful peasants who want to work peacefully," Jose Azcona stated. "Let them disarm themselves voluntarily and the Sandinists will create conditions for their return to a safe existence. Neither I nor my successor will spill a drop of a soldier's blood in order to force the contras to disarm."

It was not without reason that Jose Azcona mentioned his successor. Just before our conversation there had been elections and the president's party was defeated. Part of the reason was that he had allowed Honduras to be transformed into the largest U.S. military base in the region after Panama. This, however, did not keep the U.S. ambassador from congratulating Jose Azcona's opponent publicly even before the election commission had given its verdict.

It must be admitted that the United States has a real possibility of disarming the contras. During the course of our discussion with political figures from Honduras, Parliament Deputy Vida Bermudes stated: "The contras can leave only with American assistance. And the contras present more of a danger to Honduras than to Nicaragua." This is why the newly elected president,

taking the reaction of the Honduran public into account, declared its intention to disband the contra formations.

The general elections scheduled for 25 February in Nicaragua are one of the three pillars of the peaceful Central American home. In Managua the deputy chairman of the National Assembly, Letitia Herrera, recalled that more than 20 political parties control the votes of almost 2 million voters. The main opposition forces have formed into a bloc and nominated Violetta Chamorro as their candidate for president. Her son, the editor in chief of the official Sandinista organ, the newspaper BARRIKADA, said: "The purpose of the elections is to achieve the long-awaited peace."

The Sandinists are interested in creating the most favorable possible conditions for conducting the elections. A high election council consisting of two government delegates, two representatives of the opposition, and one nonparty member has been formed in order to organize them. The last, the eminent lawyer Rodolfo Sandino, emphasized that never before in any country has an election campaign been attended by so many foreign observers. There should be a total of about 2,000 of them.

On the roads of Nicaragua one can see trucks with the identification marks of the United Nations and the OAS. There are also groups of independent observers, one of them headed by former U.S. President J. Carter. One is alarmed, however, by a dangerous tendency. The White House is refusing ahead of time to give credence to the results of the elections in Nicaragua, using the well-known preface which is clearly inappropriate here: The elections supposedly cannot be "clean" because they never can be. At the same time the United States is interfering in the election campaign, openly financing the opposition, provoking the contras, and using them as an instrument for pressure on the Sandinista government. Recently a group of congressmen was refused entry into Nicaragua to observe the preparations for the elections.

Another tendency is becoming quite obvious in the United States: The desire to reduce the complex of Central American regulation merely to "clean"—in Washington's estimate—elections in Nicaragua; ignoring, for example, the commitment to disarm the contras. But the procedure for establishing peace in Central America is a unified package of commitments, each of which must be unwaveringly fulfilled.

As concerns the Sandinists, they have entered into an honest election struggle with faith in victory. We attended an open pre-election campaign of Sandinists, and on the next day was the first meeting of newly nominated presidential candidate Daniel Ortega with his constituents in the town of Camoapa about 100 km from the capital. Incidentally, one of the most significant

opposition parties has influence here—the Social Christian Party. But through the tangible results of their social policy, the Sandinists have won the support of the majority of peasants here.

None of the people we spoke with in the countries of Central America, including presidents, have any doubt about the victory of the Sandinists. As, for example, the chairman of the commission on international affairs of the Costa Rican legislative assembly, Alfonso Estevanovich, thinks, "The victory of the Sandinists is guaranteed, and it will strengthen their international authority and strengthen their support." The forthcoming elections in Nicaragua are not only a test of the strength of their popular support but also a large contribution to the regulation of the prolonged conflict in Central America by peaceful, political means. Good will should be shown by each side.

Central America is the only subregion of the world where the Soviet Union does not maintain relations with the majority of the countries. One can hardly consider this situation normal. Both the Soviet side and the general public of the Central American states are now coming to this conclusion.

A large amount of benevolent interest is being displayed toward our country and perestroika. About a thousand students and teachers from the National Autonomous University of Tegucigalpa filled the auditorium to overflowing to obtain from Soviet people answers to the most diverse questions, pertaining mostly to the fate of perestroika. It is another matter that it is directly proportional to the lack of information of the audience. Even a representative of Mexican television sincerely asked a member of our delegation, Archbishop of Yaroslav and Rostov Platon, how he manages to combine religious convictions with "belonging to the Communist Party."

A growing interest in the Soviet Union is a part of the new currents in Central America, whose countries are faced with a multitude of difficult, frequently burning problems. It is for the people of each country to solve them. But the countries of Central America have one common task—peace in the region. The kind of peace whereby each is guaranteed equal safety and an equal right to select a path of development.

Deputy Yanayev Addresses Havana TU Meeting

LD2601101690 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0158 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Havana, 26 Jan (TASS)—At the 16th Congress of the Trade Union Center of the Workers of Cuba here on Thursday, Gennadiy Yanayev, head of the Soviet delegation, deputy chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU], made a speech. He conveyed to the delegates at the forum and to all the working people of the republic sincere greetings from the working people of the Soviet Union and from the trade unions of the USSR, and wishes for successful, fruitful work.

Soviet people have always taken a heightened interest in the revolutionary past and life today of the first socialist state in

the Western Hemisphere, in your successes and problems, in the ways of solving these problems, Gennadiy Yanayev noted. Such interest is maintained today, too, and this is quite understandable. For changes that are cardinal in their content are presently taking place in the life of the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is a question of a whole stage—a stage of seeking for ways and forms of making the transition to a new quality of life, to combining socialism with democracy.

We think highly of the level of Soviet-Cuban trade union contacts and cooperation achieved, regard them as a combined contribution to the strengthening of Soviet-Cuban friendship in the spirit of the treaty signed in April last year by Comrades M.S. Gorbachev and F. Castro, and we will do everything necessary to further deepen our bilateral contacts, the representative of the Soviet trade unions noted.

Fidel Castro Cited on Trade With USSR

PM2501135390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS, REUTER, UPI roundup report: "Fidel Castro's Article"]

[Text] In an article for the Spanish newspaper EL INDEPENDIENTE, Fidel Castro has stated that if the USSR continues its inequitable trade exchange with Cuba—selling its goods at increasingly high prices and buying Cuban agricultural produce and raw materials at lower prices—this will amount to the same policy which the United States is implementing in respect of developing countries. Thus the USSR, he said, will ultimately join the U.S. blockade of Cuba.

Brazil's President-Elect To Visit 30 Jan

LD2501143290 Moscow TASS in English 1339 GMT
25 Jan 90

[Text] Brasilia January 25 TASS—Brazilian President-Elect Fernando Collor de Mello, who will take office on March 15, has left for a 19-day foreign tour which will take him to nine countries, including the USSR.

Collor will talk with leaders of the United States, Japan, leading West European countries, and meet representatives of international financial agencies.

Collor will visit Moscow on January 30, as a guest of the Supreme Soviet.

"We are keeping an enthusiastic and understanding eye on dynamic processes in East European countries, in the Soviet Union, in the first place. The current changes could benefit the whole of mankind and give hope for a better future," he said at a news conference on the eve of his departure.

Collor praised Soviet-Brazilian relations, noting that they are "at a good level."

"My visit to the USSR signifies that our states attach great significance to bilateral relations in order to develop cooperation and mutual exchange of experience," he said.

Supreme Soviet

Basic Provisions of Income Tax Bill Approved

LD2501235290 Moscow TASS in English 2342 GMT
25 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The drafting of the bills, which will form the legal basis for the country's new taxation system, is nearing completion at the USSR Supreme Soviet.

On Thursday the Planning, Budget and Finance Commission of the Council of the Union chamber approved the basic provisions of the bill on individual income tax.

Earlier, only one bill was envisaged—on a single taxation system. However, deliberations in the parliament's committees and commissions resulted in the conclusion that two bills are needed—on income tax and tax on profits derived by enterprises and organisations.

The two bills will be submitted for the consideration of the Third Supreme Soviet session scheduled to open on February 14.

The bill approved by the commission on Thursday envisages the introduction of progressive taxation and the tax-exempt minimum wages as well as the annulment of some taxes.

Under the new law the Council of Ministers will be stripped of its right to grant tax exemption to various groups of people as this resulted in some cases in the provision for these groups of "most favoured nation treatment". Henceforth, this right will be vested in the country's parliament.

It was stressed that the bills under discussion will mark the first phase on the way towards the creation of a system of population taxation that will be new in principle.

The new system is expected to replace the active order that took shape in the 1940's and 1950's on the basis of dozens of regulations and letters of instruction that are no longer consistent with the real economic situation.

The new system will be based on principles of the full account of incomes and the equality of all population groups in their tax duties to the state. This implies the introduction of annual taxable income declarations to be submitted by individuals and liability for the failure to pay taxes and for concealing income.

The need to proceed towards the new system in a stage-by-stage manner is connected with the fact that the creation of the system calls for considerable outlays and that the country's economic problems have become extremely acute and no reliable calculations of the living wages are now available.

Deputies noted that one should remember the imminent pricing reform which will notably affect people's incomes.

It should be specially stressed, said Viktor Kucherenko, chairman of the Planning, Budget and Financial Commission, that the new bills on taxation are not intended to rectify the shaky financial situation at the expense of the population. "The introduction of these new laws will cost the state two to three billion roubles," he said. "But we hope that later these losses will be compensated by the growth of people's incomes".

Transcaucasus Situation

Armenia, Nakhichevan Agree to Cease-Fire 25 Jan

LD2501190890 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 25 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] We have just received another TASS news item from the Transcaucasus. Talks between the Armenian National Movement and the People's Front of Nakhichevan ended today with the reaching of an agreement on a cease-fire along the whole frontier between the Armenian SSR and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The talks, which have been taking place in the frontier settlement of Yeraskh in the Araratskiy Rayon of Armenia, were organized by Major-General Surkov, USSR people's deputy and head of the Political Department of the Yerevan garrison.

In accordance with the agreement, all forces of informal organizations which are fighting each other there must cease firing today, beginning at 1600 Moscow time, along the whole frontier between Armenia and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. It has been agreed that a meeting between the leaders of the two informal organizations will take place on 27 January for practical work in drawing back their armed detachments to a safe distance from the frontier. Detachments of the Soviet Army will guarantee the fulfillment of this agreement.

Also discussed at the meeting was the question of the fate of citizens of Armenian and Azerbaijani nationality who have gone missing during the conflict. This question, and also the question of the resumption of the work of the railway, will be discussed at subsequent meetings of the two organizations.

A meeting between the first secretaries of the rayon committees of the party of the Ilyichevskiy Rayon of the Nakhichevan ASSR and the Araratskiy Rayon of Armenia took place after the talks.

Army Daily Reports on Reconciliation Attempt

PM2501162590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 24 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[Special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev report: "First Difficult Steps"]

[Text] Yerevan-Nakhichevan-Yerevan, 23 Jan—The village of Yeraskh, Araratskiy Rayon, where the border

runs between Armenia and Azerbaijan's Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR]: Today this is the most tense sector in the region. It was right here that fierce fighting developed recently between the opposing sides' large forces. And thousands of vigilantes are now concentrated here on both sides. The village resembles a combat camp. Armed posts have been set up everywhere, and vehicles are being stopped all the time to be checked.

Quite close by, some 300 meters away, where the Nakhichevan ASSR's Ilichevskiy Rayon begins, the posts of Azerbaijani militants are situated.

Internal troopers are serving in the independent role of an armed buffer between the two warring groupings on a kind of demarcation line. Today a tense silence reigns here, and combat operations have been suspended. Peace talks have begun between the opposing sides on the initiative of the military. Participating in them from Armenia are M. Serobyanyan, secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, and V. Dayan, deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers. Azerbaijan is represented by Z. Gadzhiev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, and A. Dzhalilov, first secretary of the oblast party committee. Also participating are leaders of local party and soviet organs from both sides, representatives of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, members of the boards of informal organizations, and Colonel Yu. Nauman, senior inspector of the USSR Defense Ministry Ground Forces Political Directorate. The talks are being conducted by USSR People's Deputy Major General M. Surkov, acting in the role of conciliator between the sides. Quite frankly, he has had to grasp the profession of diplomat in a difficult situation. And the talks themselves are very unusual—they are taking place in a neutral zone, in an unprepossessing booth of the State Automobile Inspectorate.

The discussion makes difficult progress, and verbal clashes flare up all the time. Delving into the history of the conflict, one side accuses the other. And so forth. But still Mikhail Semenovitch contained the outbursts of emotion, bringing the "diplomats" back to present-day problems. And here is the first result. An agreement was reached for each side to pull back hail guns and other artillery pieces 5 km.

The talks continued the next day but at once entered an impasse. Members of the board of the Armenian National Movement [ANM] laid down an ultimatum: An injured man who, according to available information, is in the Nakhichevan Hospital, was to be returned. Only in this case would the Armenian side continue the dialogue.

Representatives of the Azerbaijan People's Front averred that the injured man was safe. The leaders of the ANM did not believe it. Gen Surkov proposed setting out without delay for Nakhichevan to make sure of everything for himself. ANM leader B. Ararktsyan

insisted on flying with him. But this was inadmissible, and the general did not agree to it. What was to be done?

I suggested recording a conversation with the injured man on a dictaphone, and perhaps this would convince the Armenian side. It was decided.

We flew by helicopter to Nakhichevan. In addition to Gen Surkov, Col Yu. Nauman and the author of these lines took the role of parliamentarians. Flying with us were N. Talybov, member of the People's Front Board, and A. Alekperov, Nakhichevan ASSR deputy minister of internal affairs.

Dozens of people—medical personnel, informals, militants—were already awaiting us in the central city hospital. We came under a ceaseless hail of questions. The discussion turned into shouts, and the atmosphere was getting inflamed. The numbers of people who had died in Baku, which exceeded official information by hundreds of times, were shouted into our faces. We tried to convince them that this was a lie, rumors which someone finds advantageous to spread.

Still Mikhail Semenovitch Surkov managed to quell the emotions and to calm people. I never cease to be amazed by this man, at the way he is able to speak with people and find a way out of the most complex situations. At last a meeting with the injured man. The doors to his ward were securely guarded. He was Vagan Oganessyan, a student in Yerevan State University's Law Faculty. Following a battle, he was driving in a vehicle with three comrades to change posts but, because of the darkness and the mist, he lost his way, ended up on the Azerbaijan side, and was wounded. He was picked up unconscious. His condition is serious, but he can talk. He reported that he was being treated well there and that the physicians were doing all they could.

We flew back. In the helicopter we listened to a brief monologue by People's Front representative N. Talybov. He is a trained physician, but now he is a militant. He said hotly that he had not been home for many days now, that he had not seen his children, and that he was tired of fighting. He realizes that neighboring peoples must not fight each other. They had lived as brothers for decades, but it was advantageous to someone to unleash this bloody conflict. To whom?—Namik does not know.

At the headquarters of the Armenian vigilantes I was surrounded by a solid wall of people. I had to play the dictaphone tape over and over. They seemed to be convinced that the injured man really was their comrade. The talks would continue.

These are still just the first, very difficult steps toward long-awaited peace between the two neighboring peoples. How I would like to believe that reason will prevail in the end.

MVD: 98 Killed Since State of Emergency

LD2601074490 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0730 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Baku, 26 Jan (TASS)—TASS special correspondents report:

In accordance with the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 15 January 1990, 226 people had been detained for administrative reasons and 256 for violating the curfew in Baku up to 25 January. Confiscation of firearms and other weapons is continuing. This data is cited in a report by Lieutenant General Vladimir Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku.

As your TASS correspondents have been informed at the USSR Interior Ministry press service, the total number of deaths in Baku since the moment of the imposition of the state of emergency is 98.

MVD Official Interviewed

LD2501165290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1400 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] On the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia. Our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov has interviewed Militia Major General (Yuriy Aleksandrovich Kukushkin), USSR deputy minister of internal affairs and head of the Main Investigation Administration.

[Fedorov] Yuriy Aleksandrovich, it has already been 6 days since the state of emergency was introduced in Baku. What has this forced measure achieved? What can be said today?

[[Kukushkin]] This measure has primarily achieved an end to the pogroms and arson in Baku. I have here the figures on the dynamics of the pogroms and arson. From 13-16 [January] the number of pogroms rose. On the 13th it was 25, and on 16th, 64. Over the last 2 weeks 246 pogroms have been registered in Baku overall, and all of them before 20 January. From the 20th there has not been a single one. More or less systematic work has now begun on the part of the investigative operational groups of the USSR Procuracy, the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the KGB. In all, 31 criminal activities of various kinds have to be investigated—from ordinary robberies to deliberate murders. It is essential to stress that local investigators are taking an active part in this work. The other day, by order of Comrade Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs, 43 investigators of the Azerbaijan MVD were commended for professional skill displayed in investigating criminal cases in complex conditions and the successes thereby achieved. The situation is now complex, of course, but is somewhat stabilizing.

[Fedorov] What are the most dangerous tendencies you observed in the course of these events? I have in mind the purely criminal side of the matter.

[[Kukushkin]] Practice in our country and throughout the world shows that events like the current conflict in

the Transcaucasus inevitably provide an impetus to the invigoration of the criminal element. This cannot, perhaps, be grasped from the statistics, but the population feels this immediately. The curfew and the presence of troops in Baku and certain other regions restrains, in the main, street crime, but as concerns thefts, burglaries, and especially embezzlements and other abuses in the trade and public catering sectors, these crimes are practically uninfluenced by emergency measures. The existence of a large quantity of firearms in the hands of various persons, including criminals, has created and is creating for the militia extremely difficult conditions for preventing armed robberies, and road vehicle hijackings. In conditions of instability of the situation and lack of control, thieves and speculators of all kinds feel very free.

The situation which did arise in some regions of Transcaucasia plays first of all into the hands of organized criminal groups, operators of the so-called 'shadow economy'. For example, one could say here that the work of special investigators of the investigation department of the Main Investigation Administration for looking into especially large embezzlements—who were in Azerbaijan working in a number of organizations in Baku and other regions, towns of Azerbaijan—became more complicated. It is not important for criminals who is fighting whom; money does not smell, as they say. In the criminal case of the embezzlement of alcohol spirits from Azerbaijan and its sales in Armenia, there were eight people arrested. Among them are two Azeris—these are materially responsible persons, the immediate embezzlers—and six Armenians, these are the carriers and dealers in the Armenian territory. The sum of this embezzlement is over R1 million. Moreover, this criminal group operated during the past year in conditions of the growing conflict, in conditions of the road blocks. It turned out that the blockade does not extend to the cisterns with stolen alcohol. Such smart operators stuff their pockets at the expense of any social complications.

[Fedorov] A final question, one of concern for everybody: How has the operational situation shaped up in the past 24 hours in these regions of the country?

[[Kukushkin]] Over the past 24 hours the summary is more calm than previously. For Baku, a very unpleasant road accident has been recorded. An armored patrol carrier hit a Zhiguli car, and there were two casualties. In Gydzanza, four people penetrated the urban communications center, threatening with firearms. They stole four pistols and ammunition rounds. There was an attack on a militiaman in the same place; he suffered knife and bullet wounds. The militiaman has been sent to the hospital.

The road blockade continues in Nagorno-Karabakh. The situation is tense, but no serious crimes have been recorded there. In the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic the situation is, in general, under control. No clashes on an interethnic basis have been recorded.

In Armenia, there have been attacks on Armvzryvprom [Armenian Explosives Industry Association] premises with the aim of theft of weapons. In general it has to be said that the handing in of weapons is proceeding in a very interesting way in Armenia. It is mainly hunting guns that are being handed in. True, there is also one armored patrol carrier that they returned, and 11 trucks and a Vaz car that they are giving back as well, but few rifles are being handed in.

We will hope that with the introduction of the emergency measures, the situation will stabilize. But for this what is needed is the support of all healthy forces of the public both in Azerbaijan and in Armenia. Only then will it be possible to count on final success.

Nechayev Updates Situation

LD2501205690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Our correspondent has just had a telephone conversation with Major General Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Nechayev, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Interior Troops Political Directorate.

[Begin Nechayev recording] Despite the fact that the situation in Baku is being controlled by the interior troop units, the Soviet Army, and the Committee for State Security, it is still tense. The general strike in the town is continuing. Only enterprises providing vital services are functioning. There was shooting in the night. Measures are being implemented to ensure the regime of the state of emergency. The military unit personnel, together with the staff of other bodies, are involved in carrying out operations to isolate rayons in order to detain any armed extremist elements or guerillas there. As a result of these operations, several dozen people have been detained. Duplicating equipment, technical propaganda means, a considerable number of military uniforms, and printed material have been confiscated. Anti-army moods are still not abating. This is in spite of the address by the republican authorities. These moods assume the form of slogans, of threats which are still being meted out to servicemen and members of their families, and in the form of actions. Thus, in Baku, two apartments belonging to officers from an interior troop unit have been plundered. The commanders and political staff of the interior troops and of the Soviet Army hold meetings with labor collectives, rayon party and economic activists, leaders, and party committee secretaries at enterprises. A search is underway for a joint way to tackle the problems of returning life to normal.

The situation in Gyandzha, Khanlar, and Shaumyan rayons is still tense. The extremist elements continue provocations against the army and the Russian speaking population. Various provocative rumors are being circulated. In the village of Manashid, the electrical power station which supplies Shaumyan rayon has been put out of action. A rally has been held near the Khanlar rayon

party committee. At it an appeal addressed to a number of informal organizations and states requesting support was made public.

In a number of rayons the population positively appraises the actions of the interior troops, looking upon the servicemen as their protectors. In Shaumyan rayon, with the participation of the interior troops, 55 hostages have been exchanged. Twenty seven of them were Azerbaijanis and 28 Armenians. In Nagorno Karabakh and the areas bordering it, the situation is becoming somewhat more stable. This can be partially explained by a number of measures taken to unblock the roads. No armed clashes, pogroms, arson attacks, dead, or injured people among the population have been registered.

Regarding the Armenian SSR: The operational situation in the town of Yerevan and the republic's rayons remains complex. Cases of the theft of various types of armaments and military uniforms are still taking place. No armed clashes on interethnic grounds have been registered. The gangs of armed guerillas on the border with Nakhichevan ASSR near the population centre of (?yera) can still be seen. The weapons and ammunition stolen earlier are still being returned throughout the republic's rayons. [end recording]

Media Report on Evacuations, Refugees

Numbers Cited on Evacuees

LD2601105990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0600 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Excerpts] There is no let-up in the Transcaucasus drama. [passage omitted]

Today the problem of the evacuation of the Russian-speaking population from Azerbaijan, primarily the families of servicemen, has come to the fore. By the morning of 25 January, 30,232 members of the families of officers and warrant officers in the Soviet Army had been evacuated, as well as 2,379 border guards, 528 internal troops, and hundreds of KGB personnel. These figures are carried by today's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. [passage omitted]

Over 30,000 Evacuated

LD2501231290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
2030 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Over 30,000 people, including members of the families of servicemen of the Soviet Army and Navy have been evacuated from Azerbaijan. The country's government is taking measures to render urgent material aid to them. On the territory of the USSR, all the establishments of the country's Gosbank are accepting means for the fund to aid families of the servicemen evacuated from Azerbaijan.

'Painful' Problem Reported

PM2501150790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 23 Jan 90 First Edition pp 1,3

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent: "Yerevan: Growing Number of Refugees"]

[Text] Yerevan, 20 Jan—The atmosphere in the republic and its capital remains tense and explosive.

One of the most painful problems at the moment is the refugee problem.

It is well known that this is a misfortune from which both sides are suffering. Large numbers of Azerbaijanis were at one time forced to leave Armenia. And now it has become impossible for the Armenians to continue living in Azerbaijan.

Every morning the brief conference of the operations commission attached to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian Council of Ministers begins with a discussion of the refugees and how to solve the most urgent problems connected with finding them somewhere to live, providing them with medical services, and deciding what is going to become of them. The stream of refugees grows with every day. Even now, there are more than 5,000 refugees in Yerevan and their numbers are expected to reach 30,000 in the next few days. Moreover, most of these people are elderly or people who had found it difficult to leave Baku earlier. They all need shelter. The following figures show just how difficult this task is to resolve. There are now 220,000 refugees from the so-called first flood in the republic. Some 98,000 of them are still waiting to be housed and, on top of this, there are still 514,000 people in the earthquake zone without a roof over their heads.

The military were among the first to extend a helping hand to the victims. The Yerevan Garrison Command has decided to make available five small houses in Razdanskiy Rayon to accommodate refugees.

Of course, with time, people will be given warmth and housing. But an intelligent answer to the question of how such a thing could have happened is hardly likely to be found. Tell me, what possible threat could be posed by the helpless 80-year-old woman, S. Avakova, whom I saw yesterday in the Yerevan Research Institute of Traumatology and Orthopedics, where she had been taken straight from the aircraft? Having brutally beaten her up, her torturers had then thrown her from a window on the second floor. Why?

Here in the institute, I also met victims from the other side. Junior Sergeant Aleksandr Kutysh from Vinnitsa Oblast, Junior Sergeant Ivan Makhnachev from Stavropol Kray, and Private Shukyur Nuraliyev from Fergana Oblast, all members of the internal troops, were wounded during an attack on them by Armenian militants out to seize weapons.

Come to your senses, people, open your eyes! People all over the country are now appealing to your reason.

Militia Commander Quoted

LD2501171990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 25 Jan 90

[From "IZVESTIYA review"]

[Text] We will start with a report from Baku. The material bears today's date. IZVESTIYA's special correspondent describes in detail the course of the evacuation of the refugees, among whom there are quite a few representatives of the Russian-speaking population. Russians are leaving the capital of Azerbaijan, Colonel General Shatalin, commander of the internal services troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, confirmed. This is giving rise to concern among realistically thinking residents of Baku. They are requesting that the evacuation be stopped, understanding what a loss it can cause to the republic. Many Azerbaijanis, however, are being subjected to violence. The colonel general told the correspondent about the tactics being used by the militants. Today, just as before, they are terrorizing the families of servicemen. It is typical of them to suddenly and indiscriminately open fire.

The seizing of soldiers is continuing. Military camps are regularly being shelled. There are new elements to their tactics, too. The militants have started to wear militia and military uniforms thereby making the attacks all the more unexpected and lessening the vigilance of the troops escorting convoys.

In a word, the situation in Baku remains tense. This is also confirmed by a report from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs which is being published in today's issue.

Appeals Abound in Transcaucasus Turmoil**Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet**

NC2501194490 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1813 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Appeal adopted on 22 January [date as heard] by the "extraordinary meeting" of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet addressed to "all peoples in Azerbaijan SSR"—read by announcer]

[Text] Esteemed fellow countrymen, the declaration of a state of emergency in Baku City and the fighting it has caused, have resulted in deaths and created a wave of justified indignation among the city's entire population.

Various irresponsible individuals, including the central press organs, have spread reports that a move has been made against the Russians in the republic. As such, they have tried to tarnish the historic friendship between the Azerbaijani and Russian peoples and to create discord between these two friendly peoples. This has disturbed all people in Azerbaijan.

On behalf of the people of many nationalities in the republic, the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet is making it known in a responsible way that those who harbor designs against the existing friendship between the Azerbaijani and Russian peoples—who have helped and supported each other at difficult times—are our enemies. Nothing can divert attention from those who try to disrupt our republic's international traditions and from the true criminals in the tragic situation in the Azerbaijan SSR.

Our friendship and brotherhood are eternal. There is no doubt about that; it cannot be otherwise.

You can rest assured during these difficult times that the Azerbaijanis will further strengthen their friendly ties with you and do everything possible to prevent the strong ties between us from being broken.

Baku City Leader

*LD2501123190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1100 GMT 25 Jan 90*

[Text] Konstantin Vasilievich Shcherbakov, first deputy chairman of the Baku City Executive Committee, appealed to the city's residents on radio in Baku today. We have also decided to repeat this appeal.

[Begin recording] [Shcherbakov] I am a native of Baku. I am a Russian, born in Baku, nurtured and reared by the soil of Azerbaijan, the soil of my forefathers, and raised by the people. Here it was that I developed as an individual. I have worked in Baku for almost 40 years. I have never set myself apart from the Azeri people. And indeed, who could have thought, just 3 years ago, that a time would come when we would begin to divide ourselves up according to nationality?

I have masses of Azeri friends and comrades, both among workers and among intellectuals. I appeal to you, my friends and comrades, to all Azeris; you must consider things and allow only actions that have been carefully weighed. Otherwise, they will only work to the advantage of our enemies. This must not be permitted. There is no doubt that history will give proper evaluation to the events that have occurred, and will ultimately make a political appraisal of all that has been done, and the culprits, both big and small, will be found.

As first deputy chairman of the city executive committee, I would also like to state the following on behalf of the Baku City Soviet. Things are hard for us. But while grieving today for those who have died, we must not forget the living. We must not forget that our city must live. There are almost 2 million people here, who are awaiting tomorrow with alarm and hope. We must provide heating, water, and food for children, women, the elderly, and all residents of Baku. We must restore the movement of transport without delay, particularly that related to servicing the municipal economy. Food

enterprises, repair services, and engineering structures must function. In short, the entire activity of the city must be restored.

But for this to happen, we must all unite. The main thing is not to allow further outburst of passions, and not to send new waves of interethnic strife flooding out on to the streets. For, after all, attempts are being made in some places to look for new culprits for these events among the Russian-speaking population of Baku. Already, Russians and representatives of other nationalities have begun appearing at the airport and the railway station, trying to abandon their homes and get out of the republic, under the impression of the rumors that are spreading. To a certain extent these rumors were whipped up by the evacuation of servicemen's families of the Baku Garrison. I appeal to you. There are no grounds for leaving the city, the graves of your mothers, fathers, your nearest and dearest, your home.

The Baku City Soviet and rayon executive committees are at present carrying out explanatory work among the population at housing offices and housing authorities. Representatives of the city's intelligentsia and clergyman have spoken on radio, appealing to Azeris and the Russian-speaking population.

My friends, men and women of Azerbaijan, brothers and sisters, I have a great request to make of you. Do not yield to your emotions. Persuade those of you who may today be blinded by their grief not to lay blame on the heads of the innocent. Persuade your Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Polish, and Jewish neighbours that no one and nothing is threatening them, so that they will not leave their home town. Only together, jointly with you, can we withstand and survive this bitter hour and common tragedy. [end recording]

Russians Living in Baku

NC2501131990

[Editorial Report] Baku Domestic Service at 0600 GMT on 25 January, carries two appeals to Russians living in the city urging them not to leave and pledging friendship and cooperation, stressing that the task of the moment is the restoration of coexistence and the avoidance of provocations.

One appeal is by Dr Nezahir Abbasov, described as a veteran of the Great Patriotic War, who speaks first in Azeri and then in Russian. The other is by a woman who speaks in Russian and identifies herself as Valentina Nikolayevna Sergeyeva. She says she arrived in Baku 12 years ago and describes the friendship and generosity shown to her by the people of Baku. She also urges Russians to resist provocations, overcome fear and panic, extend a helping hand to Azerbaijan, and not to leave the city.

At 0800 GMT the radio, monitored with fair reception, carries a 10-minute appeal in Russian by Konstantin Vasilievich Shcherbakov, first deputy chairman of the

Baku city soviet, to: "His friends, all the Azerbaijani men and women." He begins by noting: "All of us, the Russian-speaking population of the republic—Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Poles, Jews, and others—are bearing all that has happened as our personal tragedy, and together with the Azerbaijanis, we bow our heads and weep for the victims. It is no secret that among the Baku citizens who fell there are also representatives of the Russian, Jewish, and other nationalities."

After calling for closer unity he says: "Over decades if not centuries, the Russian-speaking population has proved its sincere and devoted affection for the Azerbaijani people. We have no other fatherland; beloved Azerbaijan is our fatherland."

He then emphasizes that all the nationalities in the republic have always lived as a family and helped each other in every way, and tells of his personal experiences in this regard as a native of Baku. Enumerating the immediate needs of the city and admitting that there have been individual cases of "rude behavior" towards Russian speakers, he goes on to stress: "According to our information, over the last few days, not even one incident of lawless acts against representatives of these nationalities has been reported."

He concludes by appealing to Russian speakers not to abandon their fatherland as there is no reasons for them to do so and declares that the city soviet and others are now conducting a broad campaign of enlightenment among the population.

He ends with an appeal to his Azerbaijani brothers and sisters not to give in to emotion, not to transfer blame on to the heads of the innocent, and to convince their Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Polish, and Jewish neighbors that "Nothing and no one is threatening them and that they should not abandon their city."

NKAO Leaders

NC2501222590 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 25 Jan 90

["To USSR Supreme Soviet, Supreme Soviet of Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, Parliaments of the World, United Nations, and to All People of Goodwill"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] Stepanakert, 21 Jan (ARMENPRES) Compatriots, citizens of the world: Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, and Getashen Subrayon, which make up the last little Armenian island, appeal to you. These areas survived by the strength of their spirit in their historical homeland which was forcibly annexed by Azerbaijan. We are under [word indistinct] and harsh blockade. Because of mountainous winter conditions and bad weather, flights, which are our sole "lifeline," are irregular. For incomprehensible reasons and without any prior warning, they are sometimes cancelled. The Azerbaijanians have bombed the water

pipes for Stepanakert, the oblast center, where the unfortunate Armenian refugees have taken shelter.

At present, NKAO is surrounded by brigands and marauders who are armed to the teeth and have organized the massacres of Sumgait, Kirovabad, Nakhichevan, and Baku. In this exceedingly dangerous situation, the Azerbaijani leaders, exploiting the NKAO's besieged position from every angle, has as a final blow cut the telephone and cable lines, the only lines of salvation with the outside world. Radio and television broadcasts to the oblast from Moscow and Yerevan have been terminated. They have occupied the airways in Shusha like pirates. There is no communication by high frequency equipment, telex, or radio. It is impossible to call doctors or specialists from the center for the dying and bed-ridden patients.

Yet, though they face deadly danger, the people of Karabakh are not discouraged. The state of emergency is not being implemented in any Azerbaijan rayons but only introduced in the NKAO and other Armenian settlements. In effect, martial law has been introduced as part of the state of emergency, and that under these conditions mass arrests are being made and arms confiscated from the Armenian guerrillas. In view of these facts, we appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet, Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], the parliaments of the world, the United Nations, and to all peoples of goodwill with an anguished request that they raise their voice in defense of the besieged NKAO and extend a helping hand.

With hope and confidence in the name of freedom-loving Artsakh [NKAO]

[Signed] People's deputies elected from NKAO Zori Balayan, Vagan Gabrielyan, Vachakan Grigoryan, Boris Dadamyan, and Genrik Pogosyan; Robert Kocharyan, Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy; Semyon Babayan, chairman of the oblast party executive committee; and chairmen of the oblast rayon and city party executive committees Maksim Mirzoyan, Andranik Agababyan, Slava Seyranyan, Valeri Chavadyan, and Elmir Nvasardyan.

Stepanakert, 21 January.

Russian Party, Leaders

LD2501211390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1757 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jan (TASS)—The Russian Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR have made an appeal to the peoples of Russia and to all citizens of the Soviet Union to strengthen and develop and constructive public dialogue proceeding from confrontation to reasonable compromise and to a quest for mutually acceptable decisions. Realization of the necessity of dialogue is one of the public insights of recent times. It concerns just resolution of strike clashes,

of interethnic dramas, and of the problems of interaction of various public movements, generations, and social groups.

Being a complex national formation, the Russian Federation, in which more than one hundred peoples reside over a vast stretch of land, advocates unconditional respect for and extension of their rights, of ethnic originality, of mutual understanding and friendship. It advocates real independence of autonomous formation and an increase in their possibilities.

The foreign policy activity of the state is directly linked with the solution of internal problems. The time-of issue which just a few years ago hung over every Soviet and Russian home—will there not be war—has been moved aside. The cause of peace is being strengthened. But we are far from becoming euphoric. We evaluate everything soberly. We need the Army, and Russians favor unconditional respect for it, appropriate equipment for it, and an increase in the prestige of troop service. At the same time, it is necessary also to continue to ensure peace primarily by political and nonmilitary means.

In an alarming hour, here is our brotherly word to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Perceiving with deep, heartfelt pain the bitter news about the tragic consequences of interethnic conflict, we appeal on behalf of the peoples of Russia to your sense of reason—for the sake of your children, mothers, sisters and wives, stop the wave of violence! We believe: goodwill shall prevail, the appeal says in conclusion.

Estonian Scientists

LD2501220290

[Editorial Report] Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian at 1800 GMT on 25 January broadcasts a 3-minute report on a session of the Council of the Estonian Union of Scientists on 25 January. Apart from regular matters, the radio notes, the Council discussed a telegram that had just arrived from the Presidium of the Azerbaijani SSR Academy of Sciences. The telegram describes what is happening in Baku. Enn-Peeter Saari, chair of the board of the Union of Scientists is quoted as saying: "What is happening in Baku is something ten times bigger in scale and more awful than in Tbilisi." He proceeds to describe, among other things, how the military shoot at the medical personnel. "The question is naturally linked not the Karabakh problem but to defending the sovereignty of the republic. And this is seen as the main motivation and reason why the forces were brought in," he says.

The Council decide on quick action, the radio says, with an address to the International Red Cross, as well as to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The address refers to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies judgement with respect to the Soviet Army in Afghanistan, and Saari reportedly says: "And it is quite clear that what is taking place now in Baku and in Azerbaijan as a whole is our domestic Afghanistan. Our address ends with the words:

The Estonian Union of Scientists requests the assistance of the International Red Cross so that an immediate end will be put to the bloodshed taking place in Azerbaijan."

Patriarch Petitions

PM2501163590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Message From Patriarch Pimen"]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jan—Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia today sent telegrams to Vazgen I, supreme patriarch and catholicos of all Armenians, and to Shaykh al-Islam Allakhshukiyur Pasha-Zade, chairman of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of the Transcaucasus. Both messages reflect profound grief in connection with the tragic events which are the consequence of interethnic conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

We feel profound sympathy with the children, women, and the elderly, with all who have experienced and continue to experience the burden of these events, who have suffered the irreparable loss of relatives. We pray for all who are suffering and for the victims, the telegrams say.

Patriarch Pimen declares that he shares the acute alarm of all soberminded citizens in our country caused by the persisting and growing danger of fratricidal war in the region and the threat to the Soviet state's integrity. Such a catastrophic development ought to be halted without any delay.

Addressing the supreme spiritual authorities in Armenia and Azerbaijan, Patriarch Pimen expresses confidence that, in this critical hour they will help their brothers and sisters to follow the path of resisting illegality and arbitrariness, the path of legally solving the conflict, of restoring peace and security.

The telegrams emphasize the conviction that believers, striving for their people's good, should not commit injustice against another people. There must be no abuse of religious feelings for the purpose of fanning interethnic enmity and hatred.

Patriarch Pimen expresses confidence that the religious leaders will do everything possible to restore civic peace.

May mutual peace, accord, and love reign between the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan, the telegrams signed by Patriarch Pimen say.

Dubinyak on Russian Speaking Nationalities

NC2501122590 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1115 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Notice by military commandant of Baku—read by announcer]

[Text] The situation in Baku is (?peaceful). No one has been killed.

Nevertheless, (?establishments), factories, and transportation services are not operating in the city. All this impedes normal life in Baku.

I appeal to the workers in Baku not to heed fabrications, [word indistinct], and calls. All this (?affects) the various fields in the city. A number of nationalist individuals have set up [word indistinct] groups. Arms and other illegal items have been seized from them. All these people will account to the law.

I regret that rumors are being spread in the city to the effect that hundreds or thousands of people have been killed as a result of the tragic incidents. This is untrue. (?No armed clash) has taken place during the past day. However, the (?provocateurs) are doing everything possible to urge the people to clash with the military troops and other Russian speaking nationalities. They are creating undesirable incidents against the military troops.

The military commandant of Baku city appeals to the people of Baku to urge the Azerbaijanis to prevent the Russian speaking nationalities from leaving. They must realize that all these provocations are not actually against the Russian speaking nationalities but serve those who do not think about the future of Azerbaijan.

I am confident that the people of Azerbaijan, [words indistinct], and the popular forces will [words indistinct] [Signed] Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku City.

Cites Detentions, Confiscations

LD2601070890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0635 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Baku, 26 Jan (TASS)—TASS special correspondents Aleksandr Budris and Vladimir Fomin report:

The last 24 hours were relatively calm, as a result of the measures being taken by the administration of the city commandant's office and the areas under the commandant. This is stated in this morning's report from Lieutenant General Vladimir Dubinyak, the commandant of Baku. The work of finding and detaining extremist groups and confiscate arms and ammunition is continuing, with assistance from citizens.

Publication of the newspapers AZADLYK and AZERBAIJAN has been forbidden, in accordance with the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the order of the city's military commandant. Rumors which are being spread that publication of other newspapers has been banned and that the commandant's office is obstructing the work of the television are false. The report stresses that the administration of the commandant's office has an interest in improving the provision of information to the population and is taking measures to resume the operations of all mass media.

In the last 24 hours, 2 people were detained for crimes, 34 for administrative violations, and 111 for violating the curfew. One grenade, 284 shotgun shells and 4 other

weapons were confiscated. The troops did not use arms in the special region, the commandant noted.

Views Continuing Problems

LD2501134990 Moscow TASS in English 1328 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Baku January 25 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Alexander Budris and Vladimir Fomin:

A regular report issued by Baku Military Commandant Vladimir Dubinyak notes that there were no casualties in Baku in the past 24 hours. The situation in the city is stable, and there were no serious violations of public law and order.

However, most factories and public transport are at a standstill. This has paralysed the city.

Authorities detained some leaders of nationalist and militant groups. All these people will be brought to court, the report says. Weapons and articles used to commit crimes are seized.

Despite the facts, groundless rumours about many hundreds and even thousands of killed Baku residents are circulating in the city. Leaflets calling for civil disobedience are being handed out to people.

The report says that extremists are attempting to fan up anti-army and anti-Russian sentiments. For this purpose trouble-makers are circulating rumours about alleged brutalities committed by troops.

At the same time the commandant's office receives many Baku residents who are ethnic Azerbaijanis expressing the opinion that provocations and calls spearheaded against other ethnic groups are beneficial only to those who do not think about Azerbaijan's future, the commandant stresses.

Aid to Azerbaijan Refugees Reported

LD2501174890 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—The serious deterioration of inter-ethnic relations in Azerbaijan and Armenia has led to human casualties and the suffering of thousands of innocent people.

The State Commission for Emergency Situations at the USSR Council of Ministers has started handling the problems of refugees fleeing Azerbaijan.

A coordinating refugee relief group, established by the Executive Committee of the Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the USSR, is working in close contact with governmental organisations.

A medical station has been set up at the Armenian mission in Moscow in view of the great number of women and children refugees.

[Text] The first issue of NARODNY DEPUTAT [PEOPLE'S DEPUTY], sociopolitical news journal of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is now in readers' hands. The new publication opens with a valedictory message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. "I sincerely wish the journal creative successes and fruitful work in the interests of the development of Soviet democracy and the creation of a socialist rule-of-law state," he says in his greetings message to readers, the authors' aktiv, and the editorial staff of NARODNY DEPUTAT.

The journal begins with impressions of the new Soviet parliament's initial work experience by USSR People's Deputies Iren Andreyeva, Yuriy Chernichenko, and David Kugultinov.

The rubric "Steps in Political Reform" contains articles by Academician V. Kudryatsev; B. Toporkin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences E. Bagramov. USSR People's Deputy F. Burlatskiy presents his current affairs writer's remarks entitled "Freedom for Each Means Freedom for All."

A. Lukyanchikov, chief of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Soviet Work Department, ponders the lessons of the last election campaign; Candidate of Juridical Sciences A. Sliva analyzes the union republics' new election laws; Doctor of Juridical Sciences V. Mozolin and USSR People's Deputies E. Gams and K. Prunskene express their views on a series of draft laws which are now being widely discussed.

The journal also touches on a series of acute topics—the lost opportunities to prevent the summer strikes by Kuzbass miners, the consequences of a deputy's recall, the procedure for holding demonstrations, marches, and rallies....

Russian Deputies Club Meeting Detailed

90UN0700A Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Dec 89 pp 4, 5

[Articles: "It is Time, Finally, for Russia To Have Her Say"]

[Text]

Pre-Election Platform for Russia

The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Union of Writers held a joint meeting with the leaders of the Yedinstvo movement of lovers of Russian letters and culture, the United Council of Russia, and the Rossiya voters club. Also participating in the meeting were representatives of a number of patriotic movements of Moscow.

One question was raised: The development of a joint platform before the elections to the RSFSR Supreme

Soviet and the local soviets of the Russian Federation, which will take place on 4 March 1990.

Speaking at the meeting were the secretary-coordinator of the United Council of Russia, V. Skripko; the secretary of the board of the RSFSR Union of Writers, Yu. Prokushev; the chairman of the Otechestvo military patriotic literary association, S. Gagarin; a UN (United Nations) expert M.Ya. Lemeshev; the editor-in-chief of the magazine SOVETSKAYA LITERATURA (in foreign languages), A. Prokhanov; USSR People's Deputy A.S. Samsonov; political scientist S. Kurginyan; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences E. Volodin; and others.

It was decided to include in the pre-election platform of the block formed by Yedinstvo, United Council of Russia, and Rossiya provisions concerning the sovereignty of the RSFSR, strengthening the statehood of Russia, equal rights for the development of all nations and nationalities of the federation, proportionality of contributions when forming the union budget, reorientation of the RSFSR economy toward human needs, and the fight against the shadow economy. The main point is not to allow any more irresponsible experiments on the Russian land.

The platform will be the basis for the pre-election battle of candidate people's deputies nominated by the block. Among the candidates are well-known scholars, leading workers, writers, sociologists, and economists.

[signed] Our correspondent

At a work meeting of the Russian deputies club which took place last Saturday and Sunday on the premises of the RSFSR Union of Writers more than 100 USSR people's deputies from the Russian Federation met with eminent scholars and writers of the country. The meeting was led by the coordinator of the initiative group of people's deputies, S. Vasilyev, and the official secretary of the scientific council on problems of Russian culture of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences E. Volodin.

The meeting was opened by USSR People's Deputy S. Vasilyev. The introductory statement concerning current problems of the Russian Federation was made by E. Volodin. Speaking as experts elucidating questions of the economic, ecological, and demographic condition of the RSFSR and other problems of the republic and answering numerous questions were USSR people's deputies Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Sergeyev, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences N. Shafarevich, a UN expert on the environment, Doctor of Economic Sciences M. Lemeshev, Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Katasonov, the writers A. Prokhanov, V. Ganichev, St. Kunyayev, and B. Bondarenko, the sculptor V. Klykov, Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Chepurenko, the director of the Institute of Economics and Organization of Industrial Production of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A.

Granberg, a laboratory head of the Institute of Mathematics of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. Sheplev, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Ye. Troitskiy, and Candidate of Historical Sciences K. Myalo.

USSR people's deputies from Russia noted the importance of such meetings and discussed the need to create an information center of the Russian deputy club.

At the meeting they adopted the resolutions "On the Army and Defense of the Homeland," "On the Mass Media," "On the Demographic Situation in the USSR and the Russian Federation," "On the Economic Position of the RSFSR," and also the resolution "On the Position of the Russian Deputy Club With Respect to the Appeal of USSR People's Deputies A.D. Sakharov, G.Kh. Popov, Yu.N. Afanasyev, and Others for a General Warning Political Strike on 11 December 1989," in which it says:

"The Russian deputy club regards the call of the people's deputies for a general political strike on 11 December 1989 as political blackmail of its comrades in the deputy corps and an extremely irresponsible step directed toward destabilization of an already adverse situation in the country, which actually provokes the curtailment of democratic processes in our country.

"The USSR people's deputies who are members of the Russian deputy club call for labor collectives not to participate in the strike on 11 December 1989."

Taking into account the importance of the problems touched upon at the conference of the Russian deputy club and LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA suggest publishing certain statements from experts and familiarizing the readers with the main provisions of the resolutions that were adopted.

Today we are publishing the resolution "On the Mass Media" and the statement of Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Chepurensky.

[signed] Yu. Yushkin

We are all witnesses: Representatives of the Baltic republics went up to the podium of the First Congress of People's Deputies dozens of times. Equally active were people's deputies from Moldavia, Georgia, and Armenia. Various issues were raised in their speeches but among all their diversity there was one which united the majority of the speakers—this was the idea that Russia is supposed to be the main one to blame for the unfavorable economic situation of the republics, on behalf of whose people they were speaking. Representatives of the Baltic republics were especially zealous about this. The Russians supposedly are stealing the fruits of their labor and exporting their meat and dairy products and consumer goods. They must be immediately protected with economic barriers and the commodity markets must be closed off to Russians. They have been

closed. Now not a single person can buy anything he sees unless he has a local republic pass.

But that is not the issue now. Everyone has the right to protect his own economic interests in whatever way he finds necessary. We are interested in another question: Why the Russian deputies, among whom there are so many knowledgeable economists, did not point out from the high podium of the congress and then at the session of the Supreme Soviet the absurdity of these attacks on the workers of Russia. Why did they not show the mechanism which has been used throughout the existence of the Soviet state to "pump" the Russian budget into all the other republics? Why did they not protect the peoples of Russia from the unbridled attacks of the crafty falsifiers? Why did they not raise the question: To whose advantage was this to systematically and constantly weaken Russia; what gave them cause to say that the Russians are unable to work?

So let us show in figures how "the Russians are unable to work."

This year the USSR State Committee for Statistics, on the basis of data from interbranch balances for 1987, prepared materials on the economic ties of the union republics in which, based on an analysis of imports and exports of products among the union republics, they showed the role of each republic in the process of interrepublic economic integration. The value of these materials consists in that all the figures are shown in two prices: Those within the union and world prices. All the magnificence of this comparison can be immediately understood since it shows with surprising precision how and with what kind of juggling of intra-union prices the mechanism for redistributing the budget from certain republics into others was actually created. For every economist is well aware that on the world market products of light industry and the food industry are much less expensive than in the union while petroleum products, gas, ferrous, and nonferrous metals, and many kinds of equipment are relatively more expensive on the world market than they are within the country.

What does this comparison tell us?

In prices in effect within the country more products are shipped to other republics than are imported in the union republics by the following amounts: the RSFSR—R3.65 billion, the Ukrainian SSR—R1.56 billion, the Belorussian SSR—R3.15 billion, the Georgian SSR—R0.58 billion, the Moldavian SSR—R0.63 billion, and the Armenian SSR—R0.59 billion.

The rest of the republics have a negative import-export balance, that is, they import more products than they export. If this same situation is evaluated in prices of the world market, it turns out that only two republics have a positive balance in interrepublic exchange of domestic products: The RSFSR and the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. All the republics (except for the Azerbaijan SSR) should have paid the Russian Federation R25 billion more if the calculation had been in

terms of world prices. If one takes into account that this difference was obtained solely as a result of the distortion of prices on the intra-union market then this is net profit of Russian enterprises that is actually going into the budgets of other republics. They have the advantage of obtaining raw material resources from Russia at lower prices than world prices and they are exporting light and the food industry products at higher prices.

How then would our friends from the Baltic republics have looked when their deputies more than any other were raining down their wrath on Russia?

They should have paid Russia a total of R4.9 billion more, including R2.9 billion more from Lithuania, R1.1 billion from Latvia, and R0.9 billion from Estonia. Thus because of Russia excellent conditions are created for the Baltic republics which were among the first to change over the economic accountability.

But what about territorial economic accountability for such Russian oblasts, krais, and ASSR's [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics] as Kemerovo Oblast where the share of raw material branches in the overall production volume is 60 percent, Tyumen Oblast—77.3 percent, Krasnoyarsk Krai—53.7 percent, Irkutsk Oblast—54.0 percent, Chita Oblast—44.6 percent, Maritime Krai—48.7 percent, Kamchatka Oblast—83.5 percent, Magadan Oblast—74.3 percent, Sakhalin Oblast—75.9 percent, Yakutsk Oblast—73.8 percent, Murmansk Oblast—70.6 percent, Arkhangelsk Oblast—48.3 percent, Vologda Oblast—67.9 percent, the Komi ASSR—71.2 percent, and the Karelian ASSR—61.2 percent. The net profit of the enterprises of these oblasts is being appropriated by enterprises of other republics as a result of the lack of economic substantiation for prices for raw materials and prepared products.

If one analyzes the imports and exports of products in world prices for the union republics, including exports and imports involving foreign countries, the picture is much more striking: Only Russia has a positive balance (plus R41.3 billion). All the other republics have negative balances, including Lithuania (minus R3.54 billion), Latvia (minus R1.72 billion), and Estonia (minus R1.35 billion).

The fact that the effectiveness of exports from Russian enterprises is higher than the average for the country has created the possibility of importing an additional R12.4 billion worth of products, and not a single one of these rubles was used for products imported from outside the country.

Actually all these imports were turned over to other republics, including Latvia—R0.6 billion, Estonia—R0.5 billion, and Lithuania—R0.4 billion.

After all this, can one be surprised that residents of Russia are in last place in terms of standard of living, provision of consumer goods (both food and nonfood), and the development of the social sphere, that it has no way of building roads, restoring destroyed villages and

monuments of culture, developing a spiritual life, restoring the ecology to a normal condition, raising wages, relieving women of work that is too hard for them, or creating conditions for the normal development and education of children?

Did the academicians, corresponding members, and professors sitting in the country's highest legislative organ really not know about such unequivocal exchanges between all the other republics and Russia? If they did, why did they not say anything?

Perhaps the smoke from such inflamed speeches of our friends from the Baltic republics would have diminished somewhat. If this was known, how blasphemous the statement made by esteemed academician L.I. Abalkin must have sounded, the one made in an interview for the 22 September 1989 IZVESTIYA to the effect that the additional benefits allotted to the miners in the amount of R2.5-3 billion had cost approximately R10 from each resident of the country, including children and the elderly. It would seem that your arithmetic, Leonid Ivanovich, is all in order, but when it comes to the economy something is wrong. One of the miners from Vorkuta gave a correct response to this statement: "We do not want anything from anybody else, we want what is ours." And if one thinks about arithmetic it would be better to think how the other R38.5 billion are to be returned to Russia. Oh, how Russia needs them! In just one year it could solve the highway problem, constructing more than 40,000 kilometers of first-class highways. It would be possible to travel freely to each village, kolkhoz (collective farm), and sovkhoz (state farm), and this would also be a solution to many other problems, including social ones.

Nonetheless in the USSR law that was adopted, "On the USSR State Budget for 1990," one can see how subsidies are allotted to many republic budgets from the union budget and from what was said above it is clear that this is possible only at the expense of the state budget of Russia. The time has come for Russia, too, to contribute its weighty word and demand the creation of economic conditions for equivalent exchange of its products with all union republics. Failure to meet this requirement under the conditions of territorial economic accountability would deliberately place the Russian Federation in the worst conditions, which would make it impossible for it to solve its ecological, production, and social problems.

Not by enlisting foreign credit under usurious conditions, toward which certain economists are pushing us so insistently, but by creating economic conditions for the development of the production potential of the Russian Federation that are equal to those in other republics will we be able to solve all the economic and social problems not only in the RSFSR, but also throughout the country.

In conclusion I should like to address the workers of Russia. The elections of people's deputies of the Russian Federation are drawing near. Nominations from your labor

collectives truly "people's" deputies who are capable of defending the interests of the working people and of insisting on a status of equal rights between the RSFSR and other republics.

[signed] Viktor Chepurenko, candidate of economic sciences

Russian Deputies Club Resolution on Media

90UN0700B Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Dec 89 p 5

[Resolution of Deputies Club signed on 10 December: "Resolution on Mass Media"]

[Text] The mass media are now especially actively influencing the consciousness of our compatriots. They play an important role in the politicization of public awareness—they can contribute to or neutralize the awakening of national self-awareness.

Indeed many of the mass media are exhibiting a one-sided and tendentious approach to elucidating domestic and international events. In the press and on radio and television there are regular materials that are filled with nihilism and defamation of the Russian past which undermine youth's respect for their homeland and discredit patriotism and the best historical traditions and experience of the peoples of Russia.

We see mass introduction of foreign terminology, which not only corrupts the languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation but leads to a denationalization of consciousness. There is open propaganda of immorality, pornography, violence, and consistent derogation of the army and law enforcement organs. Reporting on the activity of foreign subversive centers and special services has now all but disappeared. The geopolitical changes in Eastern Europe are not being fully reported and soberly assessed by the mass media.

The existing mass media have frequently expressed local and group interests and their personal passions and ambitions.

All this is a direct result of the ALL-RUSSIAN MASS MEDIA.

We consider it necessary to create an independent information system for the republic—RSFSR Gosteleradio, the Russian Telegraph Agency (ROSTA), general Russian and oblast publishing houses, and periodicals.

THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA NEED NATIONAL MASS MEDIA!

They must disseminate the best examples of culture of all peoples of Russia, the union republics, and all nations and peoples of the world.

We are deeply convinced that only on this path is it possible to achieve common human values and mutual understanding of peoples.

Adopted unanimously at the second work conference of the Russia deputy club on 10 December 1989.

Ryzhkov Meets Delegates to Farmers Congress

LD2501213790 Moscow TASS in English 2127 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov met a group of delegates to the first (founding) Congress of the Association of Farmers and Farming Cooperatives of Russia (AFFKOR).

A wide range of issues, relating to the development of new forms of economic management in agriculture, their place and role in the solution of the food problem, came under discussion.

It was stressed that individual farmers, farming cooperatives and enterprises operating on lease contract should act as equal partners of collective and state farms in helping solve the food problem and their activity should be organically linked with the national interests.

High priority measures to facilitate this will include the introduction of a more effective credit policy and new procurement prices for farm produce and the provision of material, technical and theoretical resources for the creation of the respective production infrastructure and the upgrading of social conditions in rural areas.

It is impossible to tolerate the fact, Ryzhkov stressed, that in some regions all kinds of obstacles are still being put up to hamper leasing land. As a result, hundreds of thousands hectares of once fertile land remain neglected. This is at variance with common sense and society's requirements.

During the meeting, chiefs of respective departments were instructed to sum up the proposals voiced at the AFFKOR Congress with the view to remove pointless restrictions on the development of farming.

Chief Arbitrator Matveyev Obituary Published

PM2501161090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 90 Second Edition p 8

[Obituary: "Yuriy Gennadiyevich Matveyev"]

[Excerpts] Yuriy Gennadiyevich Matveyev, USSR chief state arbitrator, died suddenly on 23 January 1990 at the age of 49. [passage omitted]

He was appointed chief state arbitrator of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1987, and in 1989 the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies appointed him chief state arbitrator of the USSR.

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, V.A. Ivashko, A.I. Lukyanov, Ye.M. Primakov, B.K. Pugo, R.N. Nischanov, V.S. Shevchenko, V.A. Masol, A.S. Pavlov, V.V. Bakatin, Ye.A. Smolentsev, A.Ya. Sukharev, V.F. Yakovlev, Yu.A. Prokofyev, V.T. Saykin, V.N. Isaychev,

V.V. Grebennikov, I.M. Ostanniy, A.A. Bykov, N.P. Ivannikova, N.P. Zarubin, D.N. Prityka, V.V. Skopenko.

Spiridonov Elected People's Deputy for Ukhta

LD2501143190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1300 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Summary] Spiridonov, first secretary of the CPSU Komi Obkom, has been elected USSR people's deputy for the Ukhta territorial constituency.

Kalashnikov Resigns as Volgograd First Secretary

PM2501160890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[PRAVDA correspondent Yu. Shcherbinin report: "At His Personal Request"]

[Text] Volgograd, 24 Jan—A plenum of the Volgograd Oblast CPSU Committee [obkom] was held here to discuss the questions of the retirement of obkom First Secretary V.I. Kalashnikov and the holding of the oblast report and election conference.

At his personal request, V.I. Kalashnikov was released from his duties as first secretary and bureau member of the Volgograd CPSU Obkom in connection with his retirement on pension.

The plenum participants, analyzing the sociopolitical situation in the oblast, came to the conclusion that the CPSU obkom bureau is poorly in control of the situation and is not capable of directing the efforts of party organizations, labor collectives, and the entire population to resolve the tasks of perestroika.

The question of confidence in CPSU obkom bureau members was examined. After a secret ballot, 11 of the 17 obkom bureau members were supported. The duties of first secretary were temporarily entrusted to obkom Secretary V.G. Ronshin.

A special commission was created to prepare for and organize the election of the party obkom first secretary. The plenum put a request to the CPSU Central Committee on bringing forward the date of the report and election party conference and the election of the CPSU obkom first secretary at that conference by direct ballot on a contested basis.

Ceremony To Mark Sakharov Exile Planned

PM2601092590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 90 p 1

[Own correspondent A. Fortunatov report: "Sakharov Square?"]

[Text] Gorkiy—On 22 January it will be 10 years since A.D. Sakharov was first exiled to Gorkiy. On 27-28 January there will be Sakharov readings here in which Sakharov's associates, USSR people's deputies, and

many others will take part. The readings will begin with a meeting in front of Andrey Dmitriyevich's house, where a memorial plaque will be placed: "Academician Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov, who won the Nobel Peace Prize, lived in this house from 1980 through 1986, while in exile."

Incidentally, the preparation for this event is not going very smoothly. Boris Nemtsov, member of the action group for holding the Sakharov readings and candidate deputy of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic for the No. 35 national-territorial okrug, said: "Our action group and many of the city's inhabitants made a proposal to the city soviet executive committee to change the name of one of the central squares in the city—Freedom Square—to Sakharov Square. They wanted this to happen by the time the readings begin, but until now they have been refused: Allegedly there is not enough time."

Komsomol Reorganization, Renewal Options

90UN0691A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 16 Jan 90 p 3

[Issue No 1 of new rubric "Debate Auditorium of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: Discussion on Eve of 21st VLKSM Congress": "On Current Situation"]

[Text]

Either We Renounce the Dogmas, Or the Young People Renounce Us

Anatoliy Blyudin, candidate of philosophical sciences, Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School of the VLKSM Central Committee

I. A Crisis—Despite Everything

A review of statistical and sociological information reflecting the processes of development of the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] after the 20th Congress makes it possible to draw the conclusion that the crisis phenomena are mounting. In all of this, we need to note an obvious contradiction: The crisis has mounted despite the decisions of the 20th VLKSM [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] Congress and the subsequent plenums of the central Committee having a clear democratic orientation which coincides with the overall policy of renewal of socialism. Making a decision on the independence of primary organizations and on the possibility of economic operations by them, support for the NTTM [Scientific and Technical Creativity of the Young People], the MZhK [Housing Cooperatives of the Young People], creation of leisure centers and associations for the young people—it would appear that these and many other steps should encourage profound involvement by the multimillion mass of union members and increase the socio-political authority of the VLKSM considerably. However, the desired result was not achieved.

We may assume the presence of several factors which "devalue" the efforts to restructure the Komsomol. Firstly, the "mass" of rank-and-file members of the union who have lost faith in the Komsomol's potential has become supercritical. Secondly, the komsomol cadres and aktiv embarked on perestroika without sufficient intellectual and organizational potential.

The policy and the practical actions of the VLKSM leading organs after the 20th Congress may be described as a tactic of "passive reflection" of reality. For example, verbal support for the resolutions of the Surgut meeting was not reinforced by corresponding deeds.

Restrictions on the search for innovations in intra-union activities, indecision by the VLKSM Central Committee in re-evaluating its relationship with the party and state organs, absence of a clear-cut position with regard to the proponents of radical and conservative perestroika policies may be considered another factor which hampers perestroika in the VLKSM. Such indecision and an amorphous political position caused a loss of confidence on the part of the intellectually mature segment of the young people. The haziness of the political line of the VLKSM Central Committee is due, in turn, to the absence of proper aspirations to ideological self-determination. The Komsomol has displayed a timidity of sorts by failing to take advantage of the open path of political pluralism. Likewise, the continuation of the policy of following the ideological priorities of the party narrowed the social base of the Komsomol.

The impact of these factors needs to be taken into account while working out the overall concept and draft documents of the 21st VLKSM Congress. The main task of the congress is found in the socio-political and ideological self-determination of the VLKSM, that is, defining clearly the functions of the youth union and the ideas around the adherence to which it plans to rally the young people.

The Komsomol may develop a new mission—participation in the development of the youth policy, control over its implementation, and opposition to the bureaucratization of new state organs for working with the youth.

Therefore, in a law-governed state, the union of youth should perform the functions of a direct organizer of particular structures of the youth movement. Its task is to ensure "feedback" from the young people to the state, to act as a "counterbalance" of sorts to the excessive "takeover by the state" and to the consequently unavoidable bureaucratization of the youth policy. Only by developing along these lines can the youth union really assert itself as a socio-political organization.

The new social status of the youth union may be outlined as follows:

The system of Soviet state organs

Committees for youth affairs

The party

The youth movement

Socio-political organizations of young people

A transition by the VLKSM to its new social capacity will also call for a new interpretation of its political content and ideological priorities. The system of relations between the party and the Komsomol now in existence is approaching the highest critical mark. New admissions to the ranks of the CPSU from the Komsomol are declining, as is the number of young communists active in the VLKSM. According to the data of various sociological surveys, there is a stable trend toward reinforcing the attitudes which favor the complete organizational and ideological independence of the VLKSM. Indirectly, this is confirmed by the virtually universal demand to adopt a separate VLKSM program.

II. A Union, But What Kind of Union?

Many issues dealing with the renewal of the union are reflected in the concepts of the VLKSM program which have been proposed so far. Nonetheless, as of now the main point has not been set forth—how is the communist nature of the organization to be interpreted. From a scientific point of view, the attempt of some drafts to substantiate the communist character by referring to the well-known thesis of Marxism, "Free and comprehensive development of everyone as a condition for the free and comprehensive development of all," is not unquestionable. If analyzed in more depth, this wording may be quite justifiably classified as a general human rule of morality which does not run counter to the humanism of religious and democratic movements. If the communist character of the union is substantiated by its ideological affiliation with the theory of Marxism-Leninism we will have to make a considerable effort to revise dogmatic interpretations of individual theses of scientific communism and recognize certain scientific errors by Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

By all signs, the "softened variant" of our attitude toward Marxism-Leninism, which acknowledges individual mistakes by the classical authors but maintains the immovable propriety of their methodology, may also encounter its scientific opponents shortly. In a word, communism as a system of scientific views on the development of society appears to be an arena of big discussions with hard-to-predict results in the foreseeable future. Under such circumstances, only "the maximalism of the young" may boldly and unreservedly write communist slogans on its banners (the scientific ideas themselves are interpreted by most of the cadres and the aktiv in a quite superficial manner).

At the level of common consciousness of the young people, the value of communist ideals will be questioned because real socialism lags catastrophically behind the social development of bourgeois-democratic countries (this gap will hardly be closed in the next decades). By all signs, the experience of the socialist countries of Eastern

Europe will inject a portion of criticism into the attitude toward the communist movement. The same tendency is "promoted" by the discussion on repealing Article 6 of the USSR Constitution.

On the whole, all of this allows us to believe that, proceeding from strategic interests and in keeping with the specific situation, a radical reform of the VLKSM could be attempted at the 21st Congress—its self-dissolution and the transfer of its functions to a new organization, "Federation of the Unions of Free Socialist Youth" (alternative name—"Movement of Free Socialist Youth").

The transition from the name "communist" to "socialist" is not the act of a political renegade. It simply returns us to a definite time frame because socialism is the first stage of the communist formation. The introduction of the term "free" stresses a genuine interpretation of the term "socialist" and distances us from all kinds of militarized, administrative-terrorist, and feudal-bureaucratic socialism.

Tactically, this will allow us to reduce the acuteness of discussions about the attributes and foundations of socialism and to unite and rally around the main point—recognition of general human values: diligence, charity, concern for our fellow men. On the one hand, founding the new union as a federation of free socialist youth sort of stresses agreement with the current restructuring of the state in the direction of real federalism; on the other hand, it allows the republic unions of youth to operate proceeding from the real standard of living, way of life, and conscience of the young people.

In this instance, the inclusion of the term "free" in the name once again stresses an opportunity to pursue an independent indoctrination policy in keeping with the peculiarities of the national specific, historical development.

Naturally, the name proposed will cause widespread condemnation due to the omission of the customary attribute "Leninist" from it. Nonetheless, we should keep in mind the fact that V.I. Lenin had several concepts of a socialist system. As interpreted by him, socialism was a developing process of which the popular masses were the creator. If we were to term the union "Leninist" we should specify which of Lenin's concepts we support—the one set forth in the work "The State and Revolution" or the one in his last letters and articles.

At present, a scientific review of revolutionary transformations in Russia is revealing certain mistakes, both strategic and tactical, of the Bolshevik party headed by V.I. Lenin (which, incidentally, Lenin himself admitted). Taking this into account, a youth union which calls itself Leninist should specify clearly and precisely what elements of Lenin's heritage it adopts as its spiritual foundation. It is more proper to do so in the program of the union rather than in its name.

By all signs, a resolution on the new successor of the Komsomol could be offered to the 21st Congress without a preliminary referendum in all organizations, taking into account the fact that a majority of Komsomol members will treat any innovation with great indifference. It is more important to convince the VLKSM cadres and aktiv that changes in principle are necessary.

First, a call for a new organization built along new lines will confirm the sincerity of the VLKSM's intention to give up its monopoly on the youth movement.

Second, the very status of the new union and its new functions will allow the cadres in the future to join quite organically the organs carrying out the state youth policy. Actually, work in the federation of unions of free socialist youth may be considered to amount to acquiring the skill of a political scientist.

Third, this transition to a new union will make it possible to sharply reduce the existing cadres, will cause certain competition among the cadres, and will therefore improve their qualitative composition.

The act of transferring some of the VLKSM property and its press organs to the ownership of the Committee for Youth Affairs could be a very effective factor in enhancing the authority of the VLKSM Central Committee.

In the program of the Federation of Unions of Free Socialist Youth, general human moral values should be set forth as a priority: diligence, free labor, social concerns, charity. The program of the new union should reflect the continuity of positive VLKSM activities, its complete organizational and ideological independence, and relations with the party on an equal footing. General humane theories and Marxist-Leninist theses on freedom and humanism may provide an ideological foundation.

The statute of the new organization can be based on the principle of mass organizational creativity which makes it possible for all lower-ranking organizations to operate independently and to delegate some of their functions and authority to higher echelons which would not have the right to overstep this authority.

Who Is Going to Be "In Favor" and "Against"

Several scenarios for the development of the VLKSM may be offered in view of the fact that proposals to transform the VLKSM into a qualitatively new form will cause much resistance on the part of the cadres. If the 21st Congress dwells only on the issues of its own self-improvement its authority will unavoidably decline. Its membership will continue to diminish (after the article of the statute on the free departure is adopted the decline may turn into an avalanche).

The new structures created by the Komsomol—the NTTM centers, the MZhK, economic and leisure centers—will not be able to ensure mass support. There is

the danger that the continued orientation of the VLKSM toward the party and the ideological platform of Marxism-Leninism may fail to cause an influx of the educated segment of young people (students and young specialists). No matter what new constructive ideas are proposed by the 21st Congress there is every reason to believe that they will be "devalued" by the overall crisis atmosphere.

That segment of the young people not belonging to the VLKSM will nonetheless strive for some forms of unification which will cause still greater uncertainty in the youth movement fraught with the outbreaks of conflict and antagonism. The general atmosphere in the country, radical economic reforms stretched out over a decade, also make it possible to expect that the overall dissatisfaction with life, poor cultural standards, and the lack of a work habit may sharply increase the share of young people in the extremist movements, as well as increase the crime-inducing stratum of the young people (for now, there is no reason to hope that speculation and the incidence of gangs of hooligans will diminish).

The traditional position of the Central Committee leadership may ultimately lead the radically minded segment of the young people, having finally lost confidence in the VLKSM, to create its own socio-political organization which will open yet another front of confrontation.

Summing up all of the above, we may expect that the preservation of even a reformed Komsomol will not solve the problems of rallying the young people in the struggle for perestroika. At present, the preservation of the Komsomol is in the narrow "departmental" interests of the apparatus only.

If the VLKSM transforms itself into a new Federation of Unions of Free Socialist Youth, a decline in its membership (which is going to occur under any reform scenario) will no longer be perceived by the mass social conscience as a crisis phenomenon. This will be perceived as real renewal even if merely several million people remain in the new union. If in the course of this the FSSSM [Federation of Unions of Free Socialist Youth] deideologizes its operations at the initial stage and focuses its efforts on the issues of labor conditioning and social care there will be hope that the numerical strength of the new organization will grow gradually.

In anticipation of an equivocal attitude toward the creation of the FSSSM, the following scenario may also be proposed: To suggest at the 21st Congress that the Komsomol be split, and assert a youth "socio-political multi-party system" of sorts deliberately, from the top. Those who so wish should be given an opportunity to remain in the reformed Komsomol, and others should be allowed to create the FSSSM. Depending on the numerical proportion of the two "camps," material and technical facilities should be split. This scenario will boost the authority of the VLKSM Central Committee and will show that it has potential strength and is not afraid of ideological competitors.

If the VLKSM Central Committee does not do this now it will continue to confront a politicized informal movement.

The transition of the VLKSM to the new qualitative status of the FSSSM may become a very important factor in speeding the emergence of the Soviet law-governed state. On the occasion of the birth of the new organization, the 21st Congress may set forth new guidelines for relations with the state and party organs (codify the aspiration to participate in the implementation of the state youth policy and its organizational and ideological independence in relations with the party).

The party will have to analyze the situation in the community of young people in more depth and comprehensively take into account the political interests of young people out of concern for its future, and thus primarily for new membership. The proposed reform of the Komsomol will become an additional argument for the radically minded segment of delegates to the party congress in the debate on renewing the CPSU.

Incidentally, according to a survey of 8,000 Komsomol members and young people in 20 regions of our country, more than 70 percent agree with the suggestion to set up a Union of USSR Youth Organizations (the name is a convention) to which the Komsomol would belong as an organization with equal rights. More than one-half of those polled noted that the Komsomol should help create other youth social organizations.

If You Go Left... If You Go Right...

As is known, the 21st Congress of the LKSME [Leninist Communist Youth League of Estonia] has adopted a resolution on a period of transition in the republic Komsomol organization. Komsomol members will be reregistered and new youth organizations will be formed until 1 March. As a matter of fact, the republic Komsomol has already ceased to exist in its pre-Congress form.

The current situation in Estonia is unique for us—for the first time in many years, the young people are organizing themselves in the environment of free political competition. The new Secretariat of the LKSME elected at the congress—Ayvar Rauam, Kalle Isand, and Vitaliy Zinichenko—is to coordinate this process.

We publish an interview with Vitaliy Zinichenko by the commentators of the VLKSM Central Committee press-group R. Kozlov and V. Khinchagashvili.

[Kozlov, Khinchagashvili] How can the status of the youth movement in the republic be evaluated? Which organizations may be formed? Does the new LKSME Central Committee Secretariat keep abreast of this process?

[Zinichenko] "Keeping abreast" is a good expression. They sarcastically call us, the secretaries of the period of

transition, a "burial crew." But we are instead a resuscitation brigade, and we want to overcome the crisis in our youth movement.

At present, the movement represents quite a varied picture. There are associations of students, there is a scout organization, movements to protect nature and the cultural heritage, there are various politicized groups like the Independent Democratic Youth, Labor Youth, and so on. However, we are talking about what can spring up from the foundation of the Komsomol.

Two main groups organizing new unions, the Communist Union of Youth of Estonia and the Union of Youth of Estonia [SME], are active. As I see it—at the risk of being rebuked for this prediction—the Estonians will not follow the Communist Union. The Youth Union is also going to experience difficulties. If at least 1,000 people join the SME it will be a success, at least initially. These will mostly be Estonians. I would like to be mistaken, but this is what I think.

As far as the Communist Union of Youth is concerned, current VLKSM members who live in the northeastern part of the republic will most likely transfer to it. It is hard for me to judge at this point how many of them are going to join.

[Kozlov, Khinchagashvili] This area is mostly populated by non-Estonians. Does it mean that there will be a split along ethnic lines after all?

[Zinichenko] It is not easy to answer... The situation in the sphere of interethnic relations in our republic is quite complex. The process of ethnic renaissance in Estonia has also entailed unfavorable moments. The republic is opting for its own way of development, and some people do not have a sufficiently clear idea of what awaits them on this path. Hence, they have fear for their future and lack of confidence in it. This is most characteristic of the Russian-speaking, non-Estonian population. These feelings bring about a defensive reaction of sorts. Fearing that there will be no room for them among the citizens of a renewed independent republic with equal rights, they try to buy insurance through ties with their historical motherland, mainly with Russia, the center. They think that they can secure greater support there.

[Kozlov, Khinchagashvili] Are they afraid they will become second-class citizens?

[Zinichenko] Indeed, they are.

[Kozlov, Khinchagashvili] Are there grounds for such apprehensions?

[Zinichenko] I have lived in Estonia all my life, and I believe that the Estonians are a people moderate and sober-minded enough to understand that one cannot quarrel with neighbors, at the very least from the point of view of common sense, and that the ethnic composition which has emerged in the republic is a given, and there is nothing that can be done about it. Therefore, there is no point in making life difficult by mutual mistrust and

hostility. The position of Estonians is currently shifting increasingly to the center. We have healthy, constructive forces capable of keeping the republic on the path of peaceful and consistent development without deviating in the direction of extremism or conservatism.

Among other things, the Komsomol congress has also shown that a compromise may be found without infringing on one's dignity, so that everyone could think his way but contribute to the same common cause in the process.

[Kozlov, Khinchagashvili] Well, this is an almost idyllic picture. What about the slogans such as "Down With the Migrants" which have been heard in the republic?

[Zinichenko] You know, I have not heard such slogans for a long time. Indeed, there were such slogans about a year ago. However, it seems to me that the people understood quickly that those who scream out these slogans have no real support, and the people have stopped listening to them. However, this first flare-up of nationalist passions has played a negative role by sowing fear and mistrust. However, fear is a poor adviser. Say, a person picks up a draft of yet another republic law, particularly the passages concerning language and citizenship, and starts reading it only from this point of view: "Indeed, this is how they can infringe on my rights, and this is where they can spring a trap for me." Fear and mistrust are not exactly a good prerequisite for objectivity, and they are quite difficult to overcome. However, I believe that at the level of the youth movement this can be done considerably faster and more efficiently. This is exactly why we are now vigorously looking for ways to ensure unity and cooperation on the basis of a youth policy which is fair to all.

[Kozlov, Khinchagashvili] What are the results of the elections to the local soviets of the republic for the Komsomol?

[Zinichenko] In Tallinn, 10 people have been nominated, including myself. However, not one has been elected thus far. There will be repeat elections in four districts. However, frankly speaking, there is not much hope. In general, this has been a hopeless endeavor from the very beginning, taking into account the attitude toward the Komsomol in the republic and its prestige as a public organization.

Time Is Running Short. From the Point of View of a Central Committee Member

Vladimir Slastenin, first secretary of the Kuybyshev Oblast VLKSM Committee

The secret of political influence is found in promises being commensurate with the opportunities for keeping them. When we analyzed the situation of the Komsomol in the Kuybyshev Oblast VLKSM Committee we arrived at the conclusion that the way out of the situation of organizational and ideological decay is in turning it into

a union of like-minded people involved in pursuing and, if needed, protecting the social interests of the young people.

Developing and carrying out the youth policy through the representative organs of people's power is a way of solving these tasks. In this case, it is vital for the Komsomol candidate deputies to win in the elections to the soviets. This became clear as early as the spring of 1989 when journalist Aleksandr Sokolov and militiaman Igor Sorokin, nominated by our organization, became USSR people's deputies in the course of the elections.

With a view to ensuring an actual victory, the oblast komsomol organization set forth its pre-election platform before the beginning of the current elections or, if you will, raised a flag under which the candidates subscribing to our ideological positions and platform could rally. We clearly understand that failure is unavoidable if we participate in the elections arguing only for the specific interests of young people. After all, the voters are not necessarily young. This is the very reason why our election platform is not compiled in a narrow manner for young people alone, but from the point of view of the young people. The tenor of the document is: Problems of the young people can only be solved in the process of accomplishing the tasks of the entire people. I am convinced that the young people are demanding equal opportunity with other social groups to reveal their creative potential rather than privileges. We consider the concept of strict quotas—say, five candidates to this soviet, and 10 candidates to that soviet—to be theoretically incorrect and practically harmful. Ultimately, what we need is not the number of candidates but the number of deputies. This is why the komsomol organizations which have not nominated candidates are not giving up participation in the pre-election struggle but purposefully support the candidates who, if they are elected, will implement a youth policy in keeping with the platform. Of course, particular attention is given to the komsomol candidate deputies. Experience shows that in elections of USSR people's deputies the people vote for a strong personality with a precise position. People who are definitely outstanding have become candidate RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies from the Kuybyshev Komsomol: Anton Fedorov, chairman of the oblast council of soldier-internationalists; Nikolay Brusnikin, secretary of the komsomol committee of the Volga Motor Vehicle Works; Aleksandr Zorin, the leader of the MZhK Construction Association; and other people.

Now that the nomination of candidates has come to an end some conclusions can be drawn. In Kuybyshev Oblast, young people account for 12 percent of the candidates nominated.

At this stage of the election campaign, one more activity which is absolutely new to us has appeared—training the komsomol candidates in the art of strategy and tactics of

pre-election struggle, from the analysis of problems common for the entire country and sociological research to oratory.

I would like to appeal through the newspaper to all komsomol committees and interested organizations: Comrades, we should urgently set up a joint coordination center for training komsomol deputies using the experience accumulated! Elections to the organs of power are not a field for individual amateurs. We have to learn politics, and only then will we be successful. If we lose we will have to wait for many years for another opportunity to show ourselves as a political organization.

Will There Be Opposition at the Congress?

V. Lepekhin, instructor of the VLKSM Central Committee

Finally, they have started talking about the need for revolutionary transformations in the Komsomol. The apparatus of the VLKSM Central Committee, having piled up a stack of platforms, drafts, and proposals from the "grassroots" and having armed itself with scissors and glue, is pasting together articles on topical pre-congress subjects. However, as classical authors used to say, the issue of the driving forces is one of the most significant issues of a revolution.

The Komsomol, which is a totalitarian, monopolistic, and, therefore, stagnant organization, has no effective internal sources for self-induced development. Either an external push (i.e., acknowledging the right to exist of other youth organizations which could become a real alternative to the Komsomol) or the emergence within the VLKSM itself of a radical-democratic wing which would play the role of the "one disturbing the peace" and, if you will, opposition to the dogmatic, conservative forces, is necessary in order for such sources to appear.

Essentially, an opportunity was wasted for a peaceful transition to a new, pluralistic model of the youth movement through the reorganization of the USSR KMO [Committee of Youth Organizations] into a new state-public structure, a foundation for the Union of Youth Organizations of the USSR. The VLKSM Central Committee did not actually participate in the reorganization of the KMO; the VLKSM Central Committee Secretariat, having allocated 9 million komsomol rubles to the "new" KMO, allowed itself to be led by the KMO apparatus. As a result, the latter apparatus even after its "reorganization" (between 19 and 23 December, a constituent congress of the "new" USSR KMO was held) remains an office for representing abroad mythical youth organizations of the USSR. (Those who disagree with me may try naming at least one truly national youth organization apart from the VLKSM and the All-Union Construction Detachment).

So, what else remains? Making the youth movement pluralistic by destroying the existing monopoly—the VLKSM—from inside.

The "Democratic Movement in the VLKSM "The Surgut Alternative" may become such a force. [quotation marks as published] To be sure, it is largely amorphous and lacks an organizational structure. However, as of now this movement represents the only realistic opposition to the majority of the VLKSM Central Committee and its apparatus which are incapable of *perestroika*.

Therefore, a new organization must be created by new people... Events in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe confirm this graphically. Despite powerful anti-party actions, the ruling parties in Hungary, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia have survived (in the VLKSM, the stakes at present are exactly the same—to survive) only because an intraparty coup has essentially occurred within each of these parties as a result of the emergence of an opposition, reform movement: Overcoming the resistance of dogmatists, people with new views and convictions, actual rather than named leaders, have come to head the organizations.

Will new people be elected delegates to the 21st Congress? In part, they will. However, these people will have to literally fight their way to the congress. Let us recall what the Ninth VLKSM Central Committee Plenum resolved: To delegate the consideration of procedures for electing delegates to the congress to republic, kray, and oblast organizations. There is not a grain of democracy in such liberalism. Nobody prevented the VLKSM Central Committee from adopting truly democratic procedures for electing delegates to the congress, the procedures which were proposed by the members of "The Surgut Alternative" movement: nominations from primary organizations in electoral districts.

Will the new people be elected to the VLKSM Central Committee?

If a statute is adopted under which the central leading organs are formed by directly delegating representatives of the primary organizations they will be elected.

However, be that as it may, I foresee that for the first time in 70 years a fraction will be formed at a Komsomol congress which will prevent the apparatus of the Central Committee from merely letting off steam from the cauldron in order to put the lid on again... However, an ultimate answer to this will only be given by the congress.

Surgut from Volzhskiy Is in Novosibirsk

"The Surgut Alternative" (movement of the proponents of radical democratic reforms within the VLKSM) was formed in August 1989 at a meeting in Volzhskiy held within the framework of the action "Leader."

In Volzhskiy, the platform of the movement was adopted, and its coordinating council was elected. At present, "The Surgut Alternative" movement is facing the task of developing its position for the 21st VLKSM Congress.

The Second Conference of the movement called upon to accomplish these tasks will be held in Novosibirsk between 1 and 5 February 1990. The coordinating council of the movement proposes putting the following issues on the conference agenda: tactics of action at the 21st VLKSM Congress, the position on the congress of the Komsomol of Russia, tasks in the final stage of the election campaign for republic and local soviets, improvements in the organizational structure of the movement, and a platform of adherents of democratic reforms in the VLKSM at the congress.

More detailed information on delegation procedures for the Novosibirsk conference may be obtained by calling 432-96-66 and 939-25-20.

Representatives of the komsomol organizations which are collective members of the "The Surgut Alternative" movement, as well as the delegates of the 21st Congress, are invited to attend the conference.

[Signed] Coordinating Council of the "Surgut Alternative" Movement

Day Two Debates at Workers Meeting

PM2501150190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jan 90 Second Edition pp 2-3

[TASS report on debate at 19 January session of All-Union Conference of Representatives of the Working Class, the Peasantry, and Engineering and Technical Personnel in Moscow under the general heading: "To Work and Live Conscientiously"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Faith in the party, faith in the people, and patriotism have today been eroded. P.K. Kovalev, fitter at the "Gomselmash" Production Association, believes. They have now been replaced, he believes, by low labor and social discipline, drunkenness, the mafia, the shadow economy, crime, a lack of interest in professionalism, and a decline in the prestige of honest labor.

A mass of demagogues and bawlers has emerged who vigorously "pump up" their rights, methodically impose their opinion, and debase socialist gains. The path traveled by the party and the people is blackened most of all by those people who want to become "heroes of our time" on a wave of cheap popularity and who strive to sit not at the edge of the table but right at the center, wielding the biggest spoon.

The speaker sees as one of the chief causes of our misfortunes—both economic and social—the imperfection of laws, including the law on the state enterprise, which, in his opinion, has sharply weakened legal protection for the leader and limited his potential for applying the principle of one-man management. The now widespread system of electing enterprise directors has not justified itself and, on the contrary, has even entailed a general weakening of labor and production discipline.

The speaker advocated that very strict measures be taken against extremist elements conducting a smear campaign and calling for reprisals against Communists, party and soviet workers, and production front-runners. He also voiced alarm at the artificial—as he believes—ousting of workers from the political scene. Will this not lead to workers and peasants being forced to create their own structures divorced from party influence, like the Polish "Solidarity"?

The speaker dwelt in detail on the subject of the Chernobyl accident, emphasizing that the elimination of the aftermath of that tragedy must be a statewide task. [passage omitted]

I frequently think about how we are carrying out perestroika... Yu.P. Mineyev, link leader on the State Farm Named for the 25th CPSU Congress in Kokchetav Oblast, began his speech with this admission. It seems to me, he continued, that what is needed is a clear-cut program and structure of the society which has to be built, with the elaboration of all ties and regulation mechanisms.

The disturbances taking place in the country result, in the speaker's opinion, from the indeterminate nature of decisions, a lack of timeliness in reacting to what is new, and the fact that the party apparatus locally has "grown moldy" and cannot understand the moment in good time, interpret it, and take measures aimed in the right direction. An analysis of the speeches at the conference shows that a good half of the speakers champion departmental interests, and a collective egoism is apparent which does not take account of the overall situation.

A representative of the agrarian sector emphasized that the long-term program of economic perestroika must be based not on the people's enthusiasm but on strict reckoning. Everyone must roll up his sleeves and work. But work in the belief that his work will be assessed at its true worth. The law must stand guard over this. [passage omitted]

Steelworker N.Ya. Uzhva voiced the cares and anxieties of the collective of the "Zaporozhstal" Combine from the rostrum. We disagree with the widespread opinion that we live as we work, he declared.

Dwelling on the problem of rising prices, the speaker used a specific example to illustrate the negative consequences of this phenomenon. He passed to the presidium two copies of a reference work printed at the "Ekonomika" Publishing House in 1987 and 1989. There is no difference in either the texts or the design, except that the paper is worse in the latter. However, the brochures differ substantially with regard to price. One cost 80 kopeks, and the other R3.90. Unfortunately, this happens not only with books, the speaker emphasized. The quality of goods is not improving, but their prices are growing fantastically everywhere.

Plans are overfulfilled thanks to the rise in prices, and an impression of well-being is created. I am a steelworker

and I answer for my work, but who will answer for this economic "perestroika"—essentially, economic sabotage? Before adopting a law or resolution, the worker is convinced, it is necessary to think about ensuring that a situation does not arise whereby some people end up in a favorable position and others in quite the opposite position.

We workers understand our strength. We ask our class colleagues not to resort to strikes. The government must be given an opportunity to work calmly and patiently to extricate the country from the dangerous economic crisis. And our interethnic relations largely depend on the development of economic relations. Only labor will continue to determine the degree of our well-being, and the attitude toward the working person must be one of which he is worthy.

The Urals have always been and still are the country's mainstay. Yu.I. Petrov, wire drawer at Magnitogorsk Calibrating Plant, said. [passage omitted]

What is needed is action, the worker said. Enough of showing on television freight cars that have not been unloaded, enough of arguing about problems; the time has come to act and to make specific people answerable for specific results. For the people's confidence in the party and the government is diminishing daily.

I am not indifferent to the party's fate, he continued. And so it is necessary to begin right now an active discussion of the draft documents for the 28th CPSU Congress. I believe that the election of the delegates must be direct and the formation of the Central Committee should be carried out locally. [passage omitted]

While declaring his support for the center's initiatives on behalf of the workers of the Donbass, at the same time V.V. Komarov, tunnelers team leader at the "Shakhterskaya Glubokaya" Mine, voiced the opinion that perestroika must take place in primary organizations above all. [passage omitted]

The speaker spoke about the position of workers. Many families are experiencing difficulties with housing, and the chronic shortage of construction materials is preventing them from being overcome. They have to wait many years for their turn to place children in a kindergarten. Miners, the team leader believes, could construct social facilities using their own resources, as well as producing foodstuffs, incidentally, but for this they must be given equipment to utilize local materials, as well as land. Unfortunately, the questions raised by the coal miners' representatives at the meeting with government leaders last year are being resolved only slowly.

The speech noted an alarming trend: Appeals are being put to the miners from outside to take power not by means of words but with weapons. The working Donbass does not accept that, the worker declared resolutely. [passage omitted]

We representatives of Armenia's working people have traveled to this conference in the hope that the protracted crisis in the country will nonetheless be overcome, R.N. Yengoyan, general director of Kanaker Aluminum Plant, said. He reminded people of the exceptionally difficult and dramatic position that the republic finds itself in, having not yet eliminated the aftermath of the very severe earthquake.

Despite all efforts and the assistance of fraternal peoples, the social tension created by that disaster is not easing. The organizational mess, mistakes in determining the strategy for eliminating the aftermath of the earthquake, and the lack of a mechanism for managing the economy in emergency circumstances affected the failure of reconstruction work in 1989. A considerable role in this was played by the continuing blockade of the republic, as a result of which there was a sharp drop in deliveries of everything necessary. Today train traffic has once again been suspended, and yesterday Kanaker Aluminum Plant, which supplies 2,000 food and electrical equipment industry enterprises with foil, stopped work. There is a similar situation at other plants and factories in Armenia. The refugee problem is also very serious for the republic.

The general director went on to express his views on the creation of free enterprise zones and joint production facilities and on measures to improve the economy. He informed the gathering that a "Rebirth" national program is being drawn up in Armenia and will hopefully make it possible to extricate the republic's economy and social sphere from their dead-end state. The speaker emphasized that Armenia's working people conceive of the implementation of these plans only within the framework of the Soviet federation. [passage omitted]

V.I. Karolchuk, fitter at Vilnius "Zhalgiris" Machine Tool Building Plant, drew attention to the fact that there had been virtually no joyous notes in the speeches over the 2 days of the conference's work. His own speech also abounded with somber motifs. He described the situation in Lithuania as very grave and even expressed the conviction that processes are developing there in the direction of a "revival of Nazism."

The "Zhalgiris" worker cited examples demonstrating, in his opinion, the legitimacy of such an assertion. The monopolization of the mass media in the republic by "a handful of representatives of the nationalist creative intelligentsia," the blackening of people with different views, separatism in the Lithuanian Communist Party, and so forth have become a reality, he said.

The speaker urged the gathering to resolutely oppose those who advance the idea of an economic blockade of the Baltic republics, pointing out that working people above all will suffer as a result of such a confrontation. At the same time he criticized the country's leadership for tractability in resolving the question of the Baltic republics' economic independence at the Second USSR Supreme Soviet Session.

It is very difficult to speak against the background of the events taking place in the republic, T.M. Azizov, general director of the "Azerbaydzhan" Science-and-Production Association, said. If I pronounce the word "internationalism," he remarked, many people might have doubts. But I want to say that the city of Baku was, is, and will be international. The engineer recalled the republic's revolutionary traditions.

In his opinion, for relative calm to come about, two questions must be urgently resolved: to forbid anyone from making territorial claims by regions against each other in the future, as well as tackling in earnest the problems of the refugees on both sides—their housing, work, and material supplies.

However, the leader of the multinational collective pointed out, it is impossible to reach agreement under conditions of escalating actions by persons who do not want perestroika. He advocated taking decisive measures against corrupt groups which are still getting away with everything, including slander against honest people.

The speech complained about the moral and ethical content of certain press articles. It is necessary to end this unbridled conduct, as the speaker put it.

The association director criticized the republic leadership for tardiness in taking emergency measures for the perestroika of the regional economy. [passage omitted]

CPSU Ideology Chief Views Reader Concerns

90UN0667A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 11 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Article by A. Kapto, chief of the Ideological Department of CPSU Central Committee: "Look Truth in the Eyes"]

[Text] Letters addressed to the Ideological Department of the CPSU Central Committee were the impetus for these paragraphs. This mail (last year more than 7,000 letters were received) is a snapshot of all social processes and conflicts. Party members and nonparty persons, and people of various nationalities, ages, and professions write about what troubles them most. While reading these lines, you literally sense the pulse of the life of both the country and the party. I will try to single out several of the problems that disturb our comrades more than any others. Concern for the fate of socialism runs through many of the letters: what kind of a society did we build, and where is the country heading now? Judging by the mail, some of the authors, who were unable to distinguish an honest search for the truth from deliberate speculation, got lost in the flow of judgments that poured down on them from newspaper and journal columns and from television screens. On one hand, people calling themselves leftist radicals are raising the threat of famine and a crash, and they are urging: "People's deputies, go on strike!" On the other hand, threats are raised by those who are categorized as right-wing conservatives. And all of this is against a background of store counters that are getting empty and a growing crime rate.

Still, we will try to look at our society calmly. What is typical for it?

Of course, one cannot expect a full answer to this question within the scope of a newspaper article. I will note only several specific features—in other words, an outline for a portrait. A gap is noticed in the pace of perestroika in the political and economic structures. The supporters of various groups, schools, and concepts are putting forth their own economic aims, which are at times directly opposite that which they said a year or two before, but not one of them, as much as can be judged, received broad public recognition. These disputes also surfaced at the Second Congress of People's Deputies, which, as a result of intense discussions, enriched and supported the program for improving the economy proposed by the government.

The transfer of authority to the soviets is proceeding in a complicated way and painfully, which is also attested to in our letters and in conversations with people's deputies. Under these conditions, there is a growth in the activity of informal organizations and movements that are not always, to put it frankly, guided by constructive aims. All of this, considering the situation in the market, evokes a great deal of socio-psychological tension. Contradictory processes and ambiguous phenomena are reflected in a differentiation of the social conscience.

Perhaps the word "crisis" is being used more than any other lately. Indeed, the crisis phenomena are apparent. But is crisis a synonym for hopelessness? I would like to recall the Leninist thinking in connection with this, which has, in my opinion, a methodological significance. "Every crisis," V.I. Lenin wrote in 1915, "denotes (during a possible temporary delay and repression) an acceleration in development, an aggravation of contradictions, their detection, and the crash of all that is rotten, and so forth. So, a crisis has to be looked at from this standpoint," Vladimir Ilyich concluded his thought by analyzing the specific events of those days, "are there not progressive and useful features in every crisis." (Complete Works, vol. 26, p. 872).

Let us proceed from this position to an analysis of the socio-political situation of our days. And then we will not perceive the word "crisis," used appropriately or inappropriately, as a catastrophe, and we will not intimidate millions of our countrymen with it, but, cutting out all that is rotten, we will find the opportunity to accelerate development. In fact, this is the road that the Central Committee has been following in recent years. It is enough to mention the materials of the 19th party conference and the Plenum of the Central Committee, which so profoundly and thoroughly developed questions concerning national education, interethnic relations, and other fundamental problems. It is impossible not to see how with each new step our understanding of the historical processes is becoming more profound, and how our ideas about the past, present, and the future are being enriched.

But then a seemingly unexpected detail for our days: In one of the obkoms [oblast party committee], local social science teachers got interested in whether they could extend the discussion and express their point of view on one or another of the positions of M.S. Gorbachev's article, "The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Perestroika." The colleagues readdressed the question to Moscow, although they themselves called for discussions many times. However, the habit of many years of getting everything said approved from above is still strong, whether it is the wording of the "Short Course", or whether it is official memoirs. But one would hope that reflections would evoke alternate reflections, debate, and argument. So that our general capital of knowledge would be added to, helping to renew society and restructure the party.

About the party, incidentally, a great number of people are writing letters to the Central Committee. In my opinion, one should proceed on this question from the fact that, with the creation of the rigid administrative-command system in the CPSU, the functions of a political party were deformed to a significant degree. After this, the 20th congress of the party underwent changes, but they, unfortunately, did not concern themselves with the sources of the deformations. It is precisely with this that a certain loss of party authority is associated. But, speaking of this, it must be seen clearly that some of our critics are not at all concerned about the authority of the CPSU. They have other aims. They are using glasnost to defame the party, and they are trying to undermine its organizational foundations. It is to this that the discussions around Article 6 of the Constitution are tied. But let us think about it: What is this, the obstacle to perestroika against which all forces have to be hurled? Of course not. This provision can be renewed together with the whole Constitution, with deliberation and comprehension of the new role of the party in a renewing society. What is the future party seen to be like? Briefly, then, it seems to me that it will be a party of a renewed humanistic socialism that would depart from direct economic management functions and take on a political character. Besides this, ideological unity (not to be confused with uniformity) will be the integrating and system-forming principle of the party, and the common character in understanding the basic ways of the socio-political and economic development of the country, on the basis of which its organizational cohesion will also be developed. Do we have the forces in our ranks that can forge such a party? Defend our ideals? Rebuff the slanderers and demagogues?

I want to say simply that this will be done only on condition that an aggressive political position is taken by the primary party organizations and, first and foremost, in work collectives, in plants, factories, and mines. This was always important, and, today especially, when the front lines pass through the hearts and minds of each thinking person, an active, fighting position of party organizations, committees, and bureaus becomes a compulsory condition for the socialist development of the country.

And here I would like to emphasize especially the role of the party organizations of the production collectives and of the communist workers. Recently, justifiably renouncing dogmatism and the mechanical application of dogma, many authors have become reluctant to defend the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the values of socialism. Among these are the role of the working class in the development of society, and Marxism-Leninism as a theoretical expression of the basic views of the workers, which are inseparably and organizationally associated with the interests of all workers. This association, incidentally, has found expression under current conditions in the new political thinking, with its priority on the human being.

The strike movement of the summer of 1989 showed the total complexity and contradictoriness of the processes that are flowing through the worker environment. And the fact that some people in general have stopped talking about the workers, rushing from glorifying "the majesty" to the other extreme, did not cause the working class to lose its position in society, which was objectively conditioned by the level and method of production. On the contrary, sensing that its interests were being infringed upon, it responded with a strike. Given all of the ambiguity of this phenomenon for our society, it is necessary to note the maturity of many of the mining collectives. They came out against those forces that hoped to gain political capital out of the worker movement.

Life affirms that perestroika can be successful, expressing the interests of the worker collectives by basing itself on them. This refers both to perestroika in society as a whole and to perestroika in the party itself.

It is necessary to recall today that the communist movement was born and developed first of all as a movement of the proletariat. Much water has passed under the bridge since its first steps. Radical changes have occurred not only in it, not only in the entire world, but the working class itself has become unrecognizable. Its appearance has changed, but as before the working person is the key figure in contemporary society. We must proceed from this.

The authors of some letters note that now as always, however, and always at turning points in history, authority becomes the key question. In addition, some radicals want to exclude the workers from this process. They say give to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to the metal worker what is metal work. Naturally, they reserve for themselves the role of Caesar. They also cite the elections of the USSR People's Deputies: They say, that the people voted "for us," and not "for them."

Political scientists are still faced with studying, trying to understand, and deriving conclusions from their findings. But it is not difficult to note that many worker candidates became victims of dishonest political speculation, when some of the adversaries hung various labels

on them. Both the inexperience and the lack of preparation of the workers themselves for preelection campaigning under conditions of democracy and glasnost had an effect. And there was a big miscalculation here by party committees which did not "calculate" the situation, did not get prepared for it themselves, and did not prepare the worker-candidates.

Preelection campaigns have already been held in some places and are under way in others. Candidates are being nominated for local and republic organs of authority. The situation is being repeated. But can one really seriously think about the sovereignty of the people without participation in local soviets of workers and peasants? Because it is necessary to think also about the economic base of the local soviets. But its economic independence of authority, which also means its political independence, can be assured only by work collectives.

I will now quote a passage from a letter from M. Teplitskiy, the deputy chief engineer of one of the machine building plants in the city of Orel:

"Attacks on the party at various meetings remain unanswered. Why is this happening this way? I do not believe that there are no worthy defenders of the rights of the individual in the party apparatus. I want to cite this fact. For many years we propagandists were forced to go to seminars. But when we learned that questions would be answered at the seminar by Gennadiy Zyuganov (I forget his patronymic) from the Orel Obkom, there were no seats anywhere in the auditorium. Here is really a born party tribune. I think he is now in Moscow, teaching in the VPSH (higher party school attached to the CPSU Central Committee). It seems to me that G. Zyuganov would not give in to extremists at any meeting. It is necessary to forestall critics and demagogues and to wrest the initiative from them."

I will not conceal the fact that it was pleasant reading these lines: Gennadiy Andreyevich Zyuganov worked until recently as an organizer of replies in the Ideological Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and he is now confirmed as the deputy supervisor of the department. His militant and profoundly reasoned speeches are now known not only in Orel, but in many other cities of the country as well. Alongside the mental ability of Zyuganov, I will put dozens and hundreds of party comrades who are distinguished by deep conviction in the ideals of socialism, an ability to go on the offensive, and an ability to understand people. Of course, one would like to see more people like this. But what has become now of the many (by all accounts) propagandists, agitators, lecturers, and reporters on domestic and international events? Why are they not heard on the squares, where all kinds of "tribunes" and latter-day messiahs set the pitch.

This question troubles Leningrad communist D. Epstein. He notes an obvious defect in the social conscience, when all of the postrevolutionary years are presented as

a "foundation pit." The letter is typical. This approach is not concurred in by hundreds and hundreds of comrades who are calling for those who willingly or unwillingly denigrate all that was done by generations of Soviet people to be rebuffed.

It seems that in assessing the past, the pendulum of social opinion has unjustifiably swung to the exact opposite of the former position. Thus, one half-truth is replaced by another, and our October choice is put into question. The party, the revolution, and Lenin are being discredited. The "blank spots" of history are being thickly colored with blood. These are schemes with far-reaching consequences. The pages of PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, the journal KOMMUNIST, and a number of other publications assessed the attempts to revise all of history and to provoke the Stalinist crimes onto Lenin. I want to state a firm conviction: The Soviet people will not give up Lenin, October, and socialism to anyone. Attempts to make apologies for the tsar and to reanimate concepts that were doomed by history itself are hopeless. However, they are building up, reflecting a scattering of opinions that are characteristic for such crucial stages in the development of society. It is therefore that much more important for all healthy forces to mobilize themselves.

Smears and criticism are far from one and the same thing. Before our eyes, under the flag of the pluralism of opinions, and under the slogan of the humanization of social relations, there is a gradual accommodation to the kind of pluralism of actions which is aimed at weakening socialism and at its discreditation.

These attempts must really be repulsed. But who, it was frankly asked at one of the shop party meetings, is ready for this? Who would be able to undertake polemics with those informals who hold antisocialist positions? Of the somewhat more than 100 persons, it turns out that only 10 attended meetings, and only one joined the discussion. Is it necessary to wait for some kind of directive in order to show one's position? Of course not. If a communist has convictions it means he must stand up for them and defend our ideals. At the meeting and in the smoking room, in the shop and on the street—everywhere! And if there are no convictions, is it not better to ask oneself: Are you taking your place in this crucial time?

In reading the frontline journal of Aleksandr Petrovich Dovzhenko, the remarkable writer and film producer, I made this kind of extract: "It is not by bread, and not by sugar, and not by cotton, and not by coal alone that a person will live in socialism." Under this note is the date: 2 April 1941, before and after the infernal pictures of the war. At that bloody time as well, the thinking of the writer was addressed to the soul of a person, and to his world.

In actual fact, do we in our party work often even now, in the 5th year of perestroyka, attend to the person and to his concerns, pains, and joys? Listen to what is heard

most of all at party meetings. In some, as it was many years ago, there is talk about indices, plans, tons, and kilometers. In others, losing their heads, they cannot begin a dialogue with the representatives of informal movements. In general, neither of these often sees the living person with his rich internal world, feelings, and emotional experiences. In the ideas of other comrades from the ideological camp, a person is no more than a screw. This is the grave legacy of the administrative system, with which it is not easy to cope. Because even today, schools generally rank children and teenagers only according to their pupils' mark books. And the raykom [rayon party committee] looks at the percentages first of all, not thinking why the "front-rank pupil," whose portrait adorns the Honor Board, is not held in esteem in the work collective.

It seems to me that perestroyka in the party is associated, first and foremost, with radical changes in our attitude towards the person and the rebirth of Leninist humanity. Such views are more and more frequently shared by party workers whom you meet in discussion clubs, in problem seminars, and in meetings. It is discussions and a respectful and frank dialogue that attract people. Rejecting old forms of work, houses and offices of political education, transformed into socio-political and information-propaganda centers, are finding their new role. Many questions are raised through the cooperation of party committees and the mass media. The renewal of ideological work, and its liberation from routine and clichés, is unthinkable without changes in the methods of party influence on the work of the means of information. Party "assistants" and such other definitions have gone irretrievably into the past. It is time to build an organizational-political relationship between the party committees and their editorial staffs on the basis of co-authorship and mutual support. This is the essence of the current model of political leadership by means of information.

Unfortunately, in individual regions the party committees, as before, are trying to dictate, especially to local publications and large-circulation newspapers, what and when to write, in fact, identifying the political leadership with managerial functions. This engenders disputes. Investigating them, the workers of the department went to the Karelian ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] and to the Ukraine, and to the Ulyanovsk and Kuybyshev oblasts. By a decision of the party committee of the NPO [scientific production association] "Petrozavodskbummash" [Petrozavodsk paper-making machinery], the editor of the large circulation newspaper MASHINOSTROITEL, L. Opanasyuk, was released from work and immediately afterwards the administration of the association discharged her because of staff reductions. Not going into the details of this story (PRAVDA reported on it in detail), I will note the main thing: The editor of the newspaper was reinstated to her former position, and the bureau of the gorkom [city party committee] canceled the groundless decisions. This story is instructive for everyone who, as formerly,

[Text] The first issue of NARODNYY DEPUTAT [PEOPLE'S DEPUTY], sociopolitical news journal of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is now in readers' hands. The new publication opens with a valedictory message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. "I sincerely wish the journal creative successes and fruitful work in the interests of the development of Soviet democracy and the creation of a socialist rule-of-law state," he says in his greetings message to readers, the authors' aktiv, and the editorial staff of NARODNYY DEPUTAT.

The journal begins with impressions of the new Soviet parliament's initial work experience by USSR People's Deputies Iren Andreyeva, Yuriy Chernichenko, and David Kugultinov.

The rubric "Steps in Political Reform" contains articles by Academician V. Kudryatsev; B. Toporkin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences E. Bagramov. USSR People's Deputy F. Burlatskiy presents his current affairs writer's remarks entitled "Freedom for Each Means Freedom for All."

A. Lukyanchikov, chief of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Soviet Work Department, ponders the lessons of the last election campaign; Candidate of Juridical Sciences A. Sliva analyzes the union republics' new election laws; Doctor of Juridical Sciences V. Mozolin and USSR People's Deputies E. Gams and K. Prunskene express their views on a series of draft laws which are now being widely discussed.

The journal also touches on a series of acute topics—the lost opportunities to prevent the summer strikes by Kuzbass miners, the consequences of a deputy's recall, the procedure for holding demonstrations, marches, and rallies....

Russian Deputies Club Meeting Detailed

90UN0700A Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 15 Dec 89 pp 4, 5

[Articles: "It is Time, Finally, for Russia To Have Her Say"]

[Text]

Pre-Election Platform for Russia

The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Union of Writers held a joint meeting with the leaders of the Yedinstvo movement of lovers of Russian letters and culture, the United Council of Russia, and the Rossiya voters club. Also participating in the meeting were representatives of a number of patriotic movements of Moscow.

One question was raised: The development of a joint platform before the elections to the RSFSR Supreme

Soviet and the local soviets of the Russian Federation, which will take place on 4 March 1990.

Speaking at the meeting were the secretary-coordinator of the United Council of Russia, V. Skripko; the secretary of the board of the RSFSR Union of Writers, Yu. Prokushev; the chairman of the Otechestvo military patriotic literary association, S. Gagarin; a UN (United Nations) expert M.Ya. Lemeshev; the editor-in-chief of the magazine SOVETSKAYA LITERATURA (in foreign languages), A. Prokhanov; USSR People's Deputy A.S. Samsonov; political scientist S. Kurginyan; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences E. Volodin; and others.

It was decided to include in the pre-election platform of the block formed by Yedinstvo, United Council of Russia, and Rossiya provisions concerning the sovereignty of the RSFSR, strengthening the statehood of Russia, equal rights for the development of all nations and nationalities of the federation, proportionality of contributions when forming the union budget, reorientation of the RSFSR economy toward human needs, and the fight against the shadow economy. The main point is not to allow any more irresponsible experiments on the Russian land.

The platform will be the basis for the pre-election battle of candidate people's deputies nominated by the block. Among the candidates are well-known scholars, leading workers, writers, sociologists, and economists.

[signed] Our correspondent

At a work meeting of the Russian deputies club which took place last Saturday and Sunday on the premises of the RSFSR Union of Writers more than 100 USSR people's deputies from the Russian Federation met with eminent scholars and writers of the country. The meeting was led by the coordinator of the initiative group of people's deputies, S. Vasilyev, and the official secretary of the scientific council on problems of Russian culture of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences E. Volodin.

The meeting was opened by USSR People's Deputy S. Vasilyev. The introductory statement concerning current problems of the Russian Federation was made by E. Volodin. Speaking as experts elucidating questions of the economic, ecological, and demographic condition of the RSFSR and other problems of the republic and answering numerous questions were USSR people's deputies Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Sergeyev, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences N. Shafarevich, a UN expert on the environment, Doctor of Economic Sciences M. Lemeshev, Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Katasonov, the writers A. Prokhanov, V. Ganichev, St. Kunyayev, and B. Bondarenko, the sculptor V. Klykov, Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Chepurensky, the director of the Institute of Economics and Organization of Industrial Production of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A.

Granberg, a laboratory head of the Institute of Mathematics of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. Sheplev, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Ye. Troitskiy, and Candidate of Historical Sciences K. Myalo.

USSR people's deputies from Russia noted the importance of such meetings and discussed the need to create an information center of the Russian deputy club.

At the meeting they adopted the resolutions "On the Army and Defense of the Homeland," "On the Mass Media," "On the Demographic Situation in the USSR and the Russian Federation," "On the Economic Position of the RSFSR," and also the resolution "On the Position of the Russian Deputy Club With Respect to the Appeal of USSR People's Deputies A.D. Sakharov, G.Kh. Popov, Yu.N. Afanasyev, and Others for a General Warning Political Strike on 11 December 1989," in which it says:

"The Russian deputy club regards the call of the people's deputies for a general political strike on 11 December 1989 as political blackmail of its comrades in the deputy corps and an extremely irresponsible step directed toward destabilization of an already adverse situation in the country, which actually provokes the curtailment of democratic processes in our country.

"The USSR people's deputies who are members of the Russian deputy club call for labor collectives not to participate in the strike on 11 December 1989."

Taking into account the importance of the problems touched upon at the conference of the Russian deputy club and LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA suggest publishing certain statements from experts and familiarizing the readers with the main provisions of the resolutions that were adopted.

Today we are publishing the resolution "On the Mass Media" and the statement of Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Chepurenko.

[signed] Yu. Yushkin

We are all witnesses: Representatives of the Baltic republics went up to the podium of the First Congress of People's Deputies dozens of times. Equally active were people's deputies from Moldavia, Georgia, and Armenia. Various issues were raised in their speeches but among all their diversity there was one which united the majority of the speakers—this was the idea that Russia is supposed to be the main one to blame for the unfavorable economic situation of the republics, on behalf of whose people they were speaking. Representatives of the Baltic republics were especially zealous about this. The Russians supposedly are stealing the fruits of their labor and exporting their meat and dairy products and consumer goods. They must be immediately protected with economic barriers and the commodity markets must be closed off to Russians. They have been

closed. Now not a single person can buy anything he sees unless he has a local republican pass.

But that is not the issue now. Everyone has the right to protect his own economic interests in whatever way he finds necessary. We are interested in another question: Why the Russian deputies, among whom there are so many knowledgeable economists, did not point out from the high podium of the congress and then at the session of the Supreme Soviet the absurdity of these attacks on the workers of Russia. Why did they not show the mechanism which has been used throughout the existence of the Soviet state to "pump" the Russian budget into all the other republics? Why did they not protect the peoples of Russia from the unbridled attacks of the crafty falsifiers? Why did they not raise the question: To whose advantage was this to systematically and constantly weaken Russia; what gave them cause to say that the Russians are unable to work?

So let us show in figures how "the Russians are unable to work."

This year the USSR State Committee for Statistics, on the basis of data from interbranch balances for 1987, prepared materials on the economic ties of the union republics in which, based on an analysis of imports and exports of products among the union republics, they showed the role of each republic in the process of interrepublic economic integration. The value of these materials consists in that all the figures are shown in two prices: Those within the union and world prices. All the magnificence of this comparison can be immediately understood since it shows with surprising precision how and with what kind of juggling of intra-union prices the mechanism for redistributing the budget from certain republics into others was actually created. For every economist is well aware that on the world market products of light industry and the food industry are much less expensive than in the union while petroleum products, gas, ferrous, and nonferrous metals, and many kinds of equipment are relatively more expensive on the world market than they are within the country.

What does this comparison tell us?

In prices in effect within the country more products are shipped to other republics than are imported in the union republics by the following amounts: the RSFSR—R3.65 billion, the Ukrainian SSR—R1.56 billion, the Belorussian SSR—R3.15 billion, the Georgian SSR—R0.58 billion, the Moldavian SSR—R0.63 billion, and the Armenian SSR—R0.59 billion.

The rest of the republics have a negative import-export balance, that is, they import more products than they export. If this same situation is evaluated in prices of the world market, it turns out that only two republics have a positive balance in interrepublic exchange of domestic products: The RSFSR and the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. All the republics (except for the Azerbaijan SSR) should have paid the Russian Federation R25 billion more if the calculation had been in

terms of world prices. If one takes into account that this difference was obtained solely as a result of the distortion of prices on the intra-union market then this is net profit of Russian enterprises that is actually going into the budgets of other republics. They have the advantage of obtaining raw material resources from Russia at lower prices than world prices and they are exporting light and the food industry products at higher prices.

How then would our friends from the Baltic republics have looked when their deputies more than any other were raining down their wrath on Russia?

They should have paid Russia a total of R4.9 billion more, including R2.9 billion more from Lithuania, R1.1 billion from Latvia, and R0.9 billion from Estonia. Thus because of Russia excellent conditions are created for the Baltic republics which were among the first to change over the economic accountability.

But what about territorial economic accountability for such Russian oblasts, krais, and ASSR's [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics] as Kemerovo Oblast where the share of raw material branches in the overall production volume is 60 percent, Tyumen Oblast—77.3 percent, Krasnoyarsk Kray—53.7 percent, Irkutsk Oblast—54.0 percent, Chita Oblast—44.6 percent, Maritime Kray—48.7 percent, Kamchatka Oblast—83.5 percent, Magadan Oblast—74.3 percent, Sakhalin Oblast—75.9 percent, Yakutsk Oblast—73.8 percent, Murmansk Oblast—70.6 percent, Arkhangelsk Oblast—48.3 percent, Vologda Oblast—67.9 percent, the Komi ASSR—71.2 percent, and the Karelian ASSR—61.2 percent. The net profit of the enterprises of these oblasts is being appropriated by enterprises of other republics as a result of the lack of economic substantiation for prices for raw materials and prepared products.

If one analyzes the imports and exports of products in world prices for the union republics, including exports and imports involving foreign countries, the picture is much more striking: Only Russia has a positive balance (plus R41.3 billion). All the other republics have negative balances, including Lithuania (minus R3.54 billion), Latvia (minus R1.72 billion), and Estonia (minus R1.35 billion).

The fact that the effectiveness of exports from Russian enterprises is higher than the average for the country has created the possibility of importing an additional R12.4 billion worth of products, and not a single one of these rubles was used for products imported from outside the country.

Actually all these imports were turned over to other republics, including Latvia—R0.6 billion, Estonia—R0.5 billion, and Lithuania—R0.4 billion.

After all this, can one be surprised that residents of Russia are in last place in terms of standard of living, provision of consumer goods (both food and nonfood), and the development of the social sphere, that it has no way of building roads, restoring destroyed villages and

monuments of culture, developing a spiritual life, restoring the ecology to a normal condition, raising wages, relieving women of work that is too hard for them, or creating conditions for the normal development and education of children?

Did the academicians, corresponding members, and professors sitting in the country's highest legislative organ really not know about such unequivocal exchanges between all the other republics and Russia? If they did, why did they not say anything?

Perhaps the smoke from such inflamed speeches of our friends from the Baltic republics would have diminished somewhat. If this was known, how blasphemous the statement made by esteemed academician L.I. Abalkin must have sounded, the one made in an interview for the 22 September 1989 IZVESTIYA to the effect that the additional benefits allotted to the miners in the amount of R2.5-3 billion had cost approximately R10 from each resident of the country, including children and the elderly. It would seem that your arithmetic, Leonid Ivanovich, is all in order, but when it comes to the economy something is wrong. One of the miners from Vorkuta gave a correct response to this statement: "We do not want anything from anybody else, we want what is ours." And if one thinks about arithmetic it would be better to think how the other R38.5 billion are to be returned to Russia. Oh, how Russia needs them! In just one year it could solve the highway problem, constructing more than 40,000 kilometers of first-class highways. It would be possible to travel freely to each village, kolhoz (collective farm), and sovkhoz (state farm), and this would also be a solution to many other problems, including social ones.

Nonetheless in the USSR law that was adopted, "On the USSR State Budget for 1990," one can see how subsidies are allotted to many republic budgets from the union budget and from what was said above it is clear that this is possible only at the expense of the state budget of Russia. The time has come for Russia, too, to contribute its weighty word and demand the creation of economic conditions for equivalent exchange of its products with all union republics. Failure to meet this requirement under the conditions of territorial economic accountability would deliberately place the Russian Federation in the worst conditions, which would make it impossible for it to solve its ecological, production, and social problems.

Not by enlisting foreign credit under usurious conditions, toward which certain economists are pushing us so insistently, but by creating economic conditions for the development of the production potential of the Russian Federation that are equal to those in other republics will we be able to solve all the economic and social problems not only in the RSFSR, but also throughout the country.

In conclusion I should like to address the workers of Russia. The elections of people's deputies of the Russian Federation are drawing near. Nominate from your labor

collectives truly "people's" deputies who are capable of defending the interests of the working people and of insisting on a status of equal rights between the RSFSR and other republics.

[signed] Viktor Chepurenskiy, candidate of economic sciences

Russian Deputies Club Resolution on Media

90UN0700B Moscow *LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA*
in Russian 15 Dec 89 p 5

[Resolution of Deputies Club signed on 10 December: "Resolution on Mass Media"]

[Text] The mass media are now especially actively influencing the consciousness of our compatriots. They play an important role in the politicization of public awareness—they can contribute to or neutralize the awakening of national self-awareness.

Indeed many of the mass media are exhibiting a one-sided and tendentious approach to elucidating domestic and international events. In the press and on radio and television there are regular materials that are filled with nihilism and defamation of the Russian past which undermine youth's respect for their homeland and discredit patriotism and the best historical traditions and experience of the peoples of Russia.

We see mass introduction of foreign terminology, which not only corrupts the languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation but leads to a denationalization of consciousness. There is open propaganda of immorality, pornography, violence, and consistent derogation of the army and law enforcement organs. Reporting on the activity of foreign subversive centers and special services has now all but disappeared. The geopolitical changes in Eastern Europe are not being fully reported and soberly assessed by the mass media.

The existing mass media have frequently expressed local and group interests and their personal passions and ambitions.

All this is a direct result of the ALL-RUSSIAN MASS MEDIA.

We consider it necessary to create an independent information system for the republic—RSFSR Gosteleradio, the Russian Telegraph Agency (ROSTA), general Russian and oblast publishing houses, and periodicals.

THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA NEED NATIONAL MASS MEDIA!

They must disseminate the best examples of culture of all peoples of Russia, the union republics, and all nations and peoples of the world.

We are deeply convinced that only on this path is it possible to achieve common human values and mutual understanding of peoples.

Adopted unanimously at the second work conference of the Russia deputy club on 10 December 1989.

Ryzhkov Meets Delegates to Farmers Congress

LD2501213790 Moscow TASS in English 2127 GMT
25 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov met a group of delegates to the first (founding) Congress of the Association of Farmers and Farming Cooperatives of Russia (AFFKOR).

A wide range of issues, relating to the development of new forms of economic management in agriculture, their place and role in the solution of the food problem, came under discussion.

It was stressed that individual farmers, farming cooperatives and enterprises operating on lease contract should act as equal partners of collective and state farms in helping solve the food problem and their activity should be organically linked with the national interests.

High priority measures to facilitate this will include the introduction of a more effective credit policy and new procurement prices for farm produce and the provision of material, technical and theoretical resources for the creation of the respective production infrastructure and the upgrading of social conditions in rural areas.

It is impossible to tolerate the fact, Ryzhkov stressed, that in some regions all kinds of obstacles are still being put up to hamper leasing land. As a result, hundreds of thousands hectares of once fertile land remain neglected. This is at variance with common sense and society's requirements.

During the meeting, chiefs of respective departments were instructed to sum up the proposals voiced at the AFFKOR Congress with the view to remove pointless restrictions on the development of farming.

Chief Arbitrator Matveyev Obituary Published

PM2501161090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jan 90 Second Edition p 8

[Obituary: "Yuriy Gennadiyevich Matveyev"]

[Excerpts] Yuriy Gennadiyevich Matveyev, USSR chief state arbitrator, died suddenly on 23 January 1990 at the age of 49. [passage omitted]

He was appointed chief state arbitrator of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1987, and in 1989 the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies appointed him chief state arbitrator of the USSR.

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, V.A. Ivashko, A.I. Lukyanov, Ye.M. Primakov, B.K. Pugo, R.N. Nischanov, V.S. Shevchenko, V.A. Masol, A.S. Pavlov, V.V. Bakatin, Ye.A. Smolentsev, A.Ya. Sukharev, V.F. Yakovlev, Yu.A. Prokofyev, V.T. Saykin, V.N. Isaychev,

V.V. Grebennikov, I.M. Ostanniy, A.A. Bykov, N.P. Ivannikova, N.P. Zarubin, D.N. Prityka, V.V. Skopenko.

Spiridonov Elected People's Deputy for Ukhta

LD2501143190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1300 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Summary] Spiridonov, first secretary of the CPSU Komi Obkom, has been elected USSR people's deputy for the Ukhta territorial constituency.

Kalashnikov Resigns as Volgograd First Secretary

PM2501160890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[PRAVDA correspondent Yu. Shcherbinin report: "At His Personal Request"]

[Text] Volgograd, 24 Jan—A plenum of the Volgograd Oblast CPSU Committee [obkom] was held here to discuss the questions of the retirement of obkom First Secretary V.I. Kalashnikov and the holding of the oblast report and election conference.

At his personal request, V.I. Kalashnikov was released from his duties as first secretary and bureau member of the Volgograd CPSU Obkom in connection with his retirement on pension.

The plenum participants, analyzing the sociopolitical situation in the oblast, came to the conclusion that the CPSU obkom bureau is poorly in control of the situation and is not capable of directing the efforts of party organizations, labor collectives, and the entire population to resolve the tasks of perestroika.

The question of confidence in CPSU obkom bureau members was examined. After a secret ballot, 11 of the 17 obkom bureau members were supported. The duties of first secretary were temporarily entrusted to obkom Secretary V.G. Ronshin.

A special commission was created to prepare for and organize the election of the party obkom first secretary. The plenum put a request to the CPSU Central Committee on bringing forward the date of the report and election party conference and the election of the CPSU obkom first secretary at that conference by direct ballot on a contested basis.

Ceremony To Mark Sakharov Exile Planned

PM2601092590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 90 p 1

[Own correspondent A. Fortunatov report: "Sakharov Square?"]

[Text] Gorkiy—On 22 January it will be 10 years since A.D. Sakharov was first exiled to Gorkiy. On 27-28 January there will be Sakharov readings here in which Sakharov's associates, USSR people's deputies, and

many others will take part. The readings will begin with a meeting in front of Andrey Dmitriyevich's house, where a memorial plaque will be placed: "Academician Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov, who won the Nobel Peace Prize, lived in this house from 1980 through 1986, while in exile."

Incidentally, the preparation for this event is not going very smoothly. Boris Nemtsov, member of the action group for holding the Sakharov readings and candidate deputy of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic for the No. 35 national-territorial okrug, said: "Our action group and many of the city's inhabitants made a proposal to the city soviet executive committee to change the name of one of the central squares in the city—Freedom Square—to Sakharov Square. They wanted this to happen by the time the readings begin, but until now they have been refused. Allegedly there is not enough time."

Komsomol Reorganization, Renewal Options

90UN0691A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 16 Jan 90 p 3

[Issue No 1 of new rubric "Debate Auditorium of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: Discussion on Eve of 21st VLKSM Congress": "On Current Situation"]

[Text]

Either We Renounce the Dogmas, Or the Young People Renounce Us

Anatoliy Blyudin, candidate of philosophical sciences, Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School of the VLKSM Central Committee

I. A Crisis—Despite Everything

A review of statistical and sociological information reflecting the processes of development of the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] after the 20th Congress makes it possible to draw the conclusion that the crisis phenomena are mounting. In all of this, we need to note an obvious contradiction: The crisis has mounted despite the decisions of the 20th VLKSM [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] Congress and the subsequent plenums of the central Committee having a clear democratic orientation which coincides with the overall policy of renewal of socialism. Making a decision on the independence of primary organizations and on the possibility of economic operations by them, support for the NTTM [Scientific and Technical Creativity of the Young People], the MZhK [Housing Cooperatives of the Young People], creation of leisure centers and associations for the young people—it would appear that these and many other steps should encourage profound involvement by the multimillion mass of union members and increase the socio-political authority of the VLKSM considerably. However, the desired result was not achieved.

We may assume the presence of several factors which "devalue" the efforts to restructure the Komsomol. Firstly, the "mass" of rank-and-file members of the union who have lost faith in the Komsomol's potential has become supercritical. Secondly, the komsomol cadres and aktiv embarked on perestroika without sufficient intellectual and organizational potential.

The policy and the practical actions of the VLKSM leading organs after the 20th Congress may be described as a tactic of "passive reflection" of reality. For example, verbal support for the resolutions of the Surgut meeting was not reinforced by corresponding deeds.

Restrictions on the search for innovations in intra-union activities, indecision by the VLKSM Central Committee in re-evaluating its relationship with the party and state organs, absence of a clear-cut position with regard to the proponents of radical and conservative perestroika policies may be considered another factor which hampers perestroika in the VLKSM. Such indecision and an amorphous political position caused a loss of confidence on the part of the intellectually mature segment of the young people. The haziness of the political line of the VLKSM Central Committee is due, in turn, to the absence of proper aspirations to ideological self-determination. The Komsomol has displayed a timidity of sorts by failing to take advantage of the open path of political pluralism. Likewise, the continuation of the policy of following the ideological priorities of the party narrowed the social base of the Komsomol.

The impact of these factors needs to be taken into account while working out the overall concept and draft documents of the 21st VLKSM Congress. The main task of the congress is found in the socio-political and ideological self-determination of the VLKSM, that is, defining clearly the functions of the youth union and the ideas around the adherence to which it plans to rally the young people.

The Komsomol may develop a new mission—participation in the development of the youth policy, control over its implementation, and opposition to the bureaucratization of new state organs for working with the youth.

Therefore, in a law-governed state, the union of youth should perform the functions of a direct organizer of particular structures of the youth movement. Its task is to ensure "feedback" from the young people to the state, to act as a "counterbalance" of sorts to the excessive "takeover by the state" and to the consequently unavoidable bureaucratization of the youth policy. Only by developing along these lines can the youth union really assert itself as a socio-political organization.

The new social status of the youth union may be outlined as follows:

The system of Soviet state organs

Committees for youth affairs

The party

The youth movement

Socio-political organizations of young people

A transition by the VLKSM to its new social capacity will also call for a new interpretation of its political content and ideological priorities. The system of relations between the party and the Komsomol now in existence is approaching the highest critical mark. New admissions to the ranks of the CPSU from the Komsomol are declining, as is the number of young communists active in the VLKSM. According to the data of various sociological surveys, there is a stable trend toward reinforcing the attitudes which favor the complete organizational and ideological independence of the VLKSM. Indirectly, this is confirmed by the virtually universal demand to adopt a separate VLKSM program.

II. A Union, But What Kind of Union?

Many issues dealing with the renewal of the union are reflected in the concepts of the VLKSM program which have been proposed so far. Nonetheless, as of now the main point has not been set forth—how is the communist nature of the organization to be interpreted. From a scientific point of view, the attempt of some drafts to substantiate the communist character by referring to the well-known thesis of Marxism, "Free and comprehensive development of everyone as a condition for the free and comprehensive development of all," is not unquestionable. If analyzed in more depth, this wording may be quite justifiably classified as a general human rule of morality which does not run counter to the humanism of religious and democratic movements. If the communist character of the union is substantiated by its ideological affiliation with the theory of Marxism-Leninism we will have to make a considerable effort to revise dogmatic interpretations of individual theses of scientific communism and recognize certain scientific errors by Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

By all signs, the "softened variant" of our attitude toward Marxism-Leninism, which acknowledges individual mistakes by the classical authors but maintains the immovable propriety of their methodology, may also encounter its scientific opponents shortly. In a word, communism as a system of scientific views on the development of society appears to be an arena of big discussions with hard-to-predict results in the foreseeable future. Under such circumstances, only "the maximalism of the young" may boldly and unreservedly write communist slogans on its banners (the scientific ideas themselves are interpreted by most of the cadres and the aktiv in a quite superficial manner).

At the level of common consciousness of the young people, the value of communist ideals will be questioned because real socialism lags catastrophically behind the social development of bourgeois-democratic countries (this gap will hardly be closed in the next decades). By all signs, the experience of the socialist countries of Eastern

Europe will inject a portion of criticism into the attitude toward the communist movement. The same tendency is "promoted" by the discussion on repealing Article 6 of the USSR Constitution.

On the whole, all of this allows us to believe that, proceeding from strategic interests and in keeping with the specific situation, a radical reform of the VLKSM could be attempted at the 21st Congress—its self-dissolution and the transfer of its functions to a new organization, "Federation of the Unions of Free Socialist Youth" (alternative name—"Movement of Free Socialist Youth").

The transition from the name "communist" to "socialist" is not the act of a political renegade. It simply returns us to a definite time frame because socialism is the first stage of the communist formation. The introduction of the term "free" stresses a genuine interpretation of the term "socialist" and distances us from all kinds of militarized, administrative-terrorist, and feudal-bureaucratic socialism.

Tactically, this will allow us to reduce the acuteness of discussions about the attributes and foundations of socialism and to unite and rally around the main point—recognition of general human values: diligence, charity, concern for our fellow men. On the one hand, founding the new union as a federation of free socialist youth sort of stresses agreement with the current restructuring of the state in the direction of real federalism; on the other hand, it allows the republic unions of youth to operate proceeding from the real standard of living, way of life, and conscience of the young people.

In this instance, the inclusion of the term "free" in the name once again stresses an opportunity to pursue an independent indoctrination policy in keeping with the peculiarities of the national specific, historical development.

Naturally, the name proposed will cause widespread condemnation due to the omission of the customary attribute "Leninist" from it. Nonetheless, we should keep in mind the fact that V.I. Lenin had several concepts of a socialist system. As interpreted by him, socialism was a developing process of which the popular masses were the creator. If we were to term the union "Leninist" we should specify which of Lenin's concepts we support—the one set forth in the work "The State and Revolution" or the one in his last letters and articles.

At present, a scientific review of revolutionary transformations in Russia is revealing certain mistakes, both strategic and tactical, of the Bolshevik party headed by V.I. Lenin (which, incidentally, Lenin himself admitted). Taking this into account, a youth union which calls itself Leninist should specify clearly and precisely what elements of Lenin's heritage it adopts as its spiritual foundation. It is more proper to do so in the program of the union rather than in its name.

By all signs, a resolution on the new successor of the Komsomol could be offered to the 21st Congress without a preliminary referendum in all organizations, taking into account the fact that a majority of Komsomol members will treat any innovation with great indifference. It is more important to convince the VLKSM cadres and aktiv that changes in principle are necessary.

First, a call for a new organization built along new lines will confirm the sincerity of the VLKSM's intention to give up its monopoly on the youth movement.

Second, the very status of the new union and its new functions will allow the cadres in the future to join quite organically the organs carrying out the state youth policy. Actually, work in the federation of unions of free socialist youth may be considered to amount to acquiring the skill of a political scientist.

Third, this transition to a new union will make it possible to sharply reduce the existing cadres, will cause certain competition among the cadres, and will therefore improve their qualitative composition.

The act of transferring some of the VLKSM property and its press organs to the ownership of the Committee for Youth Affairs could be a very effective factor in enhancing the authority of the VLKSM Central Committee.

In the program of the Federation of Unions of Free Socialist Youth, general human moral values should be set forth as a priority: diligence, free labor, social concerns, charity. The program of the new union should reflect the continuity of positive VLKSM activities, its complete organizational and ideological independence, and relations with the party on an equal footing. General humane theories and Marxist-Leninist theses on freedom and humanism may provide an ideological foundation.

The statute of the new organization can be based on the principle of mass organizational creativity which makes it possible for all lower-ranking organizations to operate independently and to delegate some of their functions and authority to higher echelons which would not have the right to overstep this authority.

Who Is Going to Be "In Favor" and "Against"

Several scenarios for the development of the VLKSM may be offered in view of the fact that proposals to transform the VLKSM into a qualitatively new form will cause much resistance on the part of the cadres. If the 21st Congress dwells only on the issues of its own self-improvement its authority will unavoidably decline. Its membership will continue to diminish (after the article of the statute on the free departure is adopted the decline may turn into an avalanche).

The new structures created by the Komsomol—the NTTM centers, the MZHK, economic and leisure centers—will not be able to ensure mass support. There is

the danger that the continued orientation of the VLKSM toward the party and the ideological platform of Marxism-Leninism may fail to cause an influx of the educated segment of young people (students and young specialists). No matter what new constructive ideas are proposed by the 21st Congress there is every reason to believe that they will be "devalued" by the overall crisis atmosphere.

That segment of the young people not belonging to the VLKSM will nonetheless strive for some forms of unification which will cause still greater uncertainty in the youth movement fraught with the outbreaks of conflict and antagonism. The general atmosphere in the country, radical economic reforms stretched out over a decade, also make it possible to expect that the overall dissatisfaction with life, poor cultural standards, and the lack of a work habit may sharply increase the share of young people in the extremist movements, as well as increase the crime-inducing stratum of the young people (for now, there is no reason to hope that speculation and the incidence of gangs of hooligans will diminish).

The traditional position of the Central Committee leadership may ultimately lead the radically minded segment of the young people, having finally lost confidence in the VLKSM, to create its own socio-political organization which will open yet another front of confrontation.

Summing up all of the above, we may expect that the preservation of even a reformed Komsomol will not solve the problems of rallying the young people in the struggle for perestroika. At present, the preservation of the Komsomol is in the narrow "departmental" interests of the apparatus only.

If the VLKSM transforms itself into a new Federation of Unions of Free Socialist Youth, a decline in its membership (which is going to occur under any reform scenario) will no longer be perceived by the mass social conscience as a crisis phenomenon. This will be perceived as real renewal even if merely several million people remain in the new union. If in the course of this the FSSSM [Federation of Unions of Free Socialist Youth] deideologizes its operations at the initial stage and focuses its efforts on the issues of labor conditioning and social care there will be hope that the numerical strength of the new organization will grow gradually.

In anticipation of an equivocal attitude toward the creation of the FSSSM, the following scenario may also be proposed: To suggest at the 21st Congress that the Komsomol be split, and assert a youth "socio-political multi-party system" of sorts deliberately, from the top. Those who so wish should be given an opportunity to remain in the reformed Komsomol, and others should be allowed to create the FSSSM. Depending on the numerical proportion of the two "camps," material and technical facilities should be split. This scenario will boost the authority of the VLKSM Central Committee and will show that it has potential strength and is not afraid of ideological competitors.

If the VLKSM Central Committee does not do this now it will continue to confront a politicized informal movement.

The transition of the VLKSM to the new qualitative status of the FSSSM may become a very important factor in speeding the emergence of the Soviet law-governed state. On the occasion of the birth of the new organization, the 21st Congress may set forth new guidelines for relations with the state and party organs (codify the aspiration to participate in the implementation of the state youth policy and its organizational and ideological independence in relations with the party).

The party will have to analyze the situation in the community of young people in more depth and comprehensively take into account the political interests of young people out of concern for its future, and thus primarily for new membership. The proposed reform of the Komsomol will become an additional argument for the radically minded segment of delegates to the party congress in the debate on renewing the CPSU.

Incidentally, according to a survey of 8,000 Komsomol members and young people in 20 regions of our country, more than 70 percent agree with the suggestion to set up a Union of USSR Youth Organizations (the name is a convention) to which the Komsomol would belong as an organization with equal rights. More than one-half of those polled noted that the Komsomol should help create other youth social organizations.

If You Go Left You Go Right...

As is known, the 21st Congress of the LKSME [Leninist Communist Youth League of Estonia] has adopted a resolution on a period of transition in the republic Komsomol organization. Komsomol members will be reregistered and new youth organizations will be formed until 1 March. As a matter of fact, the republic Komsomol has already ceased to exist in its pre-Congress form.

The current situation in Estonia is unique for us—for the first time in many years, the young people are organizing themselves in the environment of free political competition. The new Secretariat of the LKSME elected at the congress—Ayvar Rauam, Kalle Isand, and Vitaliy Zinichenko—is to coordinate this process.

We publish an interview with Vitaliy Zinichenko by the commentators of the VLKSM Central Committee press-group R. Kozlov and V. Khinchagashvili.

[Kozlov, Khinchagashvili] How can the status of the youth movement in the republic be evaluated? Which organizations may be formed? Does the new LKSME Central Committee Secretariat keep abreast of this process?

[Zinichenko] "Keeping abreast" is a good expression. They sarcastically call us, the secretaries of the period of

transition, a "burial crew." But we are instead a resuscitation brigade, and we want to overcome the crisis in our youth movement.

At present, the movement represents quite a varied picture. There are associations of students, there is a scout organization, movements to protect nature and the cultural heritage, there are various politicized groups like the Independent Democratic Youth, Labor Youth, and so on. However, we are talking about what can spring up from the foundation of the Komsomol.

Two main groups organizing new unions, the Communist Union of Youth of Estonia and the Union of Youth of Estonia [SME], are active. As I see it—at the risk of being rebuked for this prediction—the Estonians will not follow the Communist Union. The Youth Union is also going to experience difficulties. If at least 1,000 people join the SME it will be a success, at least initially. These will mostly be Estonians. I would like to be mistaken, but this is what I think.

As far as the Communist Union of Youth is concerned, current VLKSM members who live in the northeastern part of the republic will most likely transfer to it. It is hard for me to judge at this point how many of them are going to join.

[Kozlov, Khinchagashvili] This area is mostly populated by non-Estonians. Does it mean that there will be a split along ethnic lines after all?

[Zinichenko] It is not easy to answer... The situation in the sphere of interethnic relations in our republic is quite complex. The process of ethnic renaissance in Estonia has also entailed unfavorable moments. The republic is opting for its own way of development, and some people do not have a sufficiently clear idea of what awaits them on this path. Hence, they have fear for their future and lack of confidence in it. This is most characteristic of the Russian-speaking, non-Estonian population. These feelings bring about a defensive reaction of sorts. Fearing that there will be no room for them among the citizens of a renewed independent republic with equal rights, they try to buy insurance through ties with their historical motherland, mainly with Russia, the center. They think that they can secure greater support there.

[Kozlov, Khinchagashvili] Are they afraid they will become second-class citizens?

[Zinichenko] Indeed, they are.

[Kozlov, Khinchagashvili] Are there grounds for such apprehensions?

[Zinichenko] I have lived in Estonia all my life, and I believe that the Estonians are a people moderate and sober-minded enough to understand that one cannot quarrel with neighbors, at the very least from the point of view of common sense, and that the ethnic composition which has emerged in the republic is a given, and there is nothing that can be done about it. Therefore, there is no point in making life difficult by mutual mistrust and

hostility. The position of Estonians is currently shifting increasingly to the center. We have healthy, constructive forces capable of keeping the republic on the path of peaceful and consistent development without deviating in the direction of extremism or conservatism.

Among other things, the Komsomol congress has also shown that a compromise may be found without infringing on one's dignity, so that everyone could think his way but contribute to the same common cause in the process.

[Kozlov, Khinchagashvili] Well, this is an almost idyllic picture. What about the slogans such as "Down With the Migrants" which have been heard in the republic?

[Zinichenko] You know, I have not heard such slogans for a long time. Indeed, there were such slogans about a year ago. However, it seems to me that the people understood quickly that those who scream out these slogans have no real support, and the people have stopped listening to them. However, this first flare-up of nationalist passions has played a negative role by sowing fear and mistrust. However, fear is a poor adviser. Say, a person picks up a draft of yet another republic law, particularly the passages concerning language and citizenship, and starts reading it only from this point of view: "Indeed, this is how they can infringe on my rights, and this is where they can spring a trap for me." Fear and mistrust are not exactly a good prerequisite for objectivity, and they are quite difficult to overcome. However, I believe that at the level of the youth movement this can be done considerably faster and more efficiently. This is exactly why we are now vigorously looking for ways to ensure unity and cooperation on the basis of a youth policy which is fair to all.

[Kozlov, Khinchagashvili] What are the results of the elections to the local soviets of the republic for the Komsomol?

[Zinichenko] In Tallinn, 10 people have been nominated, including myself. However, not one has been elected thus far. There will be repeat elections in four districts. However, frankly speaking, there is not much hope. In general, this has been a hopeless endeavor from the very beginning, taking into account the attitude toward the Komsomol in the republic and its prestige as a public organization.

Time Is Running Short. From the Point of View of a Central Committee Member

Vladimir Slastenin, first secretary of the Kuybyshev Oblast VLKSM Committee

The secret of political influence is found in promises being commensurate with the opportunities for keeping them. When we analyzed the situation of the Komsomol in the Kuybyshev Oblast VLKSM Committee we arrived at the conclusion that the way out of the situation of organizational and ideological decay is in turning it into

a union of like-minded people involved in pursuing and, if needed, protecting the social interests of the young people.

Developing and carrying out the youth policy through the representative organs of people's power is a way of solving these tasks. In this case, it is vital for the Komsomol candidate deputies to win in the elections to the soviets. This became clear as early as the spring of 1989 when journalist Aleksandr Sokolov and militiaman Igor Sorokin, nominated by our organization, became USSR people's deputies in the course of the elections.

With a view to ensuring an actual victory, the oblast komsomol organization set forth its pre-election platform before the beginning of the current elections or, if you will, raised a flag under which the candidates subscribing to our ideological positions and platform could rally. We clearly understand that failure is unavoidable if we participate in the elections arguing only for the specific interests of young people. After all, the voters are not necessarily young. This is the very reason why our election platform is not compiled in a narrow manner for young people alone, but from the point of view of the young people. The tenor of the document is: Problems of the young people can only be solved in the process of accomplishing the tasks of the entire people. I am convinced that the young people are demanding equal opportunity with other social groups to reveal their creative potential rather than privileges. We consider the concept of strict quotas—say, five candidates to this soviet, and 10 candidates to that soviet—to be theoretically incorrect and practically harmful. Ultimately, what we need is not the number of candidates but the number of deputies. This is why the komsomol organizations which have not nominated candidates are not giving up participation in the pre-election struggle but purposefully support the candidates who, if they are elected, will implement a youth policy in keeping with the platform. Of course, particular attention is given to the komsomol candidate deputies. Experience shows that in elections of USSR people's deputies the people vote for a strong personality with a precise position. People who are definitely outstanding have become candidate RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies from the Kuybyshev Komsomol: Anton Fedorov, chairman of the oblast council of soldier-internationalists; Nikolay Brusnikin, secretary of the komsomol committee of the Volga Motor Vehicle Works; Aleksandr Zorin, the leader of the MZhK Construction Association; and other people.

Now that the nomination of candidates has come to an end some conclusions can be drawn. In Kuybyshev Oblast, young people account for 12 percent of the candidates nominated.

At this stage of the election campaign, one more activity which is absolutely new to us has appeared—training the komsomol candidates in the art of strategy and tactics of

pre-election struggle, from the analysis of problems common for the entire country and sociological research to oratory.

I would like to appeal through the newspaper to all komsomol committees and interested organizations: Comrades, we should urgently set up a joint coordination center for training komsomol deputies using the experience accumulated! Elections to the organs of power are not a field for individual amateurs. We have to learn politics, and only then will we be successful. If we lose we will have to wait for many years for another opportunity to show ourselves as a political organization.

Will There Be Opposition at the Congress?

V. Lepekhin, instructor of the VLKSM Central Committee

Finally, they have started talking about the need for revolutionary transformations in the Komsomol. The apparatus of the VLKSM Central Committee, having piled up a stack of platforms, drafts, and proposals from the "grassroots" and having armed itself with scissors and glue, is pasting together articles on topical pre-congress subjects. However, as classical authors used to say, the issue of the driving forces is one of the most significant issues of a revolution.

The Komsomol, which is a totalitarian, monopolistic, and, therefore, stagnant organization, has no effective internal sources for self-induced development. Either an external push (i.e., acknowledging the right to exist of other youth organizations which could become a real alternative to the Komsomol) or the emergence within the VLKSM itself of a radical-democratic wing which would play the role of the "one disturbing the peace" and, if you will, opposition to the dogmatic, conservative forces, is necessary in order for such sources to appear.

Essentially, an opportunity was wasted for a peaceful transition to a new, pluralistic model of the youth movement through the reorganization of the USSR KMO [Committee of Youth Organizations] into a new state-public structure, a foundation for the Union of Youth Organizations of the USSR. The VLKSM Central Committee did not actually participate in the reorganization of the KMO; the VLKSM Central Committee Secretariat, having allocated 9 million komsomol rubles to the "new" KMO, allowed itself to be led by the KMO apparatus. As a result, the latter apparatus even after its "reorganization" (between 19 and 23 December, a constituent congress of the "new" USSR KMO was held) remains an office for representing abroad mythical youth organizations of the USSR. (Those who disagree with me may try naming at least one truly national youth organization apart from the VLKSM and the All-Union Construction Detachment).

So, what else remains? Making the youth movement pluralistic by destroying the existing monopoly—the VLKSM—from inside.

The "Democratic Movement in the VLKSM "The Surgut Alternative" may become such a force. [quotation marks as published] To be sure, it is largely amorphous and lacks an organizational structure. However, as of now this movement represents the only realistic opposition to the majority of the VLKSM Central Committee and its apparatus which are incapable of perestroika.

Therefore, a new organization must be created by new people... Events in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe confirm this graphically. Despite powerful anti-party actions, the ruling parties in Hungary, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia have survived (in the VLKSM, the stakes at present are exactly the same—to survive) only because an intraparty coup has essentially occurred within each of these parties as a result of the emergence of an opposition, reform movement: Overcoming the resistance of dogmatists, people with new views and convictions, actual rather than named leaders, have come to head the organizations.

Will new people be elected delegates to the 21st Congress? In part, they will. However, these people will have to literally fight their way to the congress. Let us recall what the Ninth VLKSM Central Committee Plenum resolved: To delegate the consideration of procedures for electing delegates to the congress to republic, kray, and oblast organizations. There is not a grain of democracy in such liberalism. Nobody prevented the VLKSM Central Committee from adopting truly democratic procedures for electing delegates to the congress, the procedures which were proposed by the members of "The Surgut Alternative" movement: nominations from primary organizations in electoral districts.

Will the new people be elected to the VLKSM Central Committee?

If a statute is adopted under which the central leading organs are formed by directly delegating representatives of the primary organizations they will be elected.

However, be that as it may, I foresee that for the first time in 70 years a fraction will be formed at a Komsomol congress which will prevent the apparatus of the Central Committee from merely letting off steam from the cauldron in order to put the lid on again... However, an ultimate answer to this will only be given by the congress.

Surgut from Volzhskiy Is in Novosibirsk

"The Surgut Alternative" (movement of the proponents of radical democratic reforms within the VLKSM) was formed in August 1989 at a meeting in Volzhskiy held within the framework of the action "Leader."

In Volzhskiy, the platform of the movement was adopted, and its coordinating council was elected. At present, "The Surgut Alternative" movement is facing the task of developing its position for the 21st VLKSM Congress.

The Second Conference of the movement called upon to accomplish these tasks will be held in Novosibirsk between 1 and 5 February 1990. The coordinating council of the movement proposes putting the following issues on the conference agenda: tactics of action at the 21st VLKSM Congress, the position on the congress of the Komsomol of Russia, tasks in the final stage of the election campaign for republic and local soviets, improvements in the organizational structure of the movement, and a platform of adherents of democratic reforms in the VLKSM at the congress.

More detailed information on delegation procedures for the Novosibirsk conference may be obtained by calling 432-96-66 and 939-25-20.

Representatives of the komsomol organizations which are collective members of the "The Surgut Alternative" movement, as well as the delegates of the 21st Congress, are invited to attend the conference.

[Signed] Coordinating Council of the "Surgut Alternative" Movement

Day Two Debates at Workers Meeting

PM2501150190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jan 90 Second Edition pp 2-3

[TASS report on debate at 19 January session of All-Union Conference of Representatives of the Working Class, the Peasantry, and Engineering and Technical Personnel in Moscow under the general heading: "To Work and Live Conscientiously"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Faith in the party, faith in the people, and patriotism have today been eroded, P.K. Kovalev, fitter at the "Gomselmash" Production Association, believes. They have now been replaced, he believes, by low labor and social discipline, drunkenness, the mafia, the shadow economy, crime, a lack of interest in professionalism, and a decline in the prestige of honest labor.

A mass of demagogues and bawlers has emerged who vigorously "pump up" their rights, methodically impose their opinion, and debase socialist gains. The path traveled by the party and the people is blackened most of all by those people who want to become "heroes of our time" on a wave of cheap popularity and who strive to sit not at the edge of the table but right at the center, wielding the biggest spoon.

The speaker sees as one of the chief causes of our misfortunes—both economic and social—the imperfection of laws, including the law on the state enterprise, which, in his opinion, has sharply weakened legal protection for the leader and limited his potential for applying the principle of one-man management. The now widespread system of electing enterprise directors has not justified itself and, on the contrary, has even entailed a general weakening of labor and production discipline.

The speaker advocated that very strict measures be taken against extremist elements conducting a smear campaign and calling for reprisals against Communists, party and soviet workers, and production front-runners. He also voiced alarm at the artificial—as he believes—ousting of workers from the political scene. Will this not lead to workers and peasants being forced to create their own structures divorced from party influence, like the Polish "Solidarity"?

The speaker dwelt in detail on the subject of the Chernobyl accident, emphasizing that the elimination of the aftermath of that tragedy must be a statewide task. [passage omitted]

I frequently think about how we are carrying out perestroika... Yu.P. Mineyev, link leader on the State Farm Named for the 25th CPSU Congress in Kokchetav Oblast, began his speech with this admission. It seems to me, he continued, that what is needed is a clear-cut program and structure of the society which has to be built, with the elaboration of all ties and regulation mechanisms.

The disturbances taking place in the country result, in the speaker's opinion, from the indeterminate nature of decisions, a lack of timeliness in reacting to what is new, and the fact that the party apparatus locally has "grown moldy" and cannot understand the moment in good time, interpret it, and take measures aimed in the right direction. An analysis of the speeches at the conference shows that a good half of the speakers champion departmental interests, and a collective egoism is apparent which does not take account of the overall situation.

A representative of the agrarian sector emphasized that the long-term program of economic perestroika must be based not on the people's enthusiasm but on strict reckoning. Everyone must roll up his sleeves and work. But work in the belief that his work will be assessed at its true worth. The law must stand guard over this. [passage omitted]

Steelworker N.Ya. Uzhva voiced the cares and anxieties of the collective of the "Zaporozhstal" Combine from the rostrum. We disagree with the widespread opinion that we live as we work, he declared.

Dwelling on the problem of rising prices, the speaker used a specific example to illustrate the negative consequences of this phenomenon. He passed to the presidium two copies of a reference work printed at the "Ekonomika" Publishing House in 1987 and 1989. There is no difference in either the texts or the design, except that the paper is worse in the latter. However, the brochures differ substantially with regard to price. One cost 80 kopeks, and the other R3.90. Unfortunately, this happens not only with books, the speaker emphasized. The quality of goods is not improving, but their prices are growing fantastically everywhere.

Plans are overfulfilled thanks to the rise in prices, and an impression of well-being is created. I am a steelworker

and I answer for my work, but who will answer for this economic "perestroika"—essentially, economic sabotage? Before adopting a law or resolution, the worker is convinced, it is necessary to think about ensuring that a situation does not arise whereby some people end up in a favorable position and others in quite the opposite position.

We workers understand our strength. We ask our class colleagues not to resort to strikes. The government must be given an opportunity to work calmly and patiently to extricate the country from the dangerous economic crisis. And our interethnic relations largely depend on the development of economic relations. Only labor will continue to determine the degree of our well-being, and the attitude toward the working person must be one of which he is worthy.

The Urals have always been and still are the country's mainstay, Yu.I. Petrov, wire drawer at Magnitogorsk Calibrating Plant, said. [passage omitted]

What is needed is action, the worker said. Enough of showing on television freight cars that have not been unloaded, enough of arguing about problems; the time has come to act and to make specific people answerable for specific results. For the people's confidence in the party and the government is diminishing daily.

I am not indifferent to the party's fate, he continued. And so it is necessary to begin right now an active discussion of the draft documents for the 28th CPSU Congress. I believe that the election of the delegates must be direct and the formation of the Central Committee should be carried out locally. [passage omitted]

While declaring his support for the center's initiatives on behalf of the workers of the Donbass, at the same time V.V. Komarov, tunnelers team leader at the "Shakhterskaya Glubokaya" Mine, voiced the opinion that perestroika must take place in primary organizations above all. [passage omitted]

The speaker spoke about the position of workers. Many families are experiencing difficulties with housing, and the chronic shortage of construction materials is preventing them from being overcome. They have to wait many years for their turn to place children in a kindergarten. Miners, the team leader believes, could construct social facilities using their own resources, as well as producing foodstuffs, incidentally, but for this they must be given equipment to utilize local materials, as well as land. Unfortunately, the questions raised by the coal miners' representatives at the meeting with government leaders last year are being resolved only slowly.

The speech noted an alarming trend: Appeals are being put to the miners from outside to take power not by means of words but with weapons. The working Donbass does not accept that, the worker declared resolutely. [passage omitted]

We representatives of Armenia's working people have traveled to this conference in the hope that the protracted crisis in the country will nonetheless be overcome, R.N. Yengoyan, general director of Kanaker Aluminum Plant, said. He reminded people of the exceptionally difficult and dramatic position that the republic finds itself in, having not yet eliminated the aftermath of the very severe earthquake.

Despite all efforts and the assistance of fraternal peoples, the social tension created by that disaster is not easing. The organizational mess, mistakes in determining the strategy for eliminating the aftermath of the earthquake, and the lack of a mechanism for managing the economy in emergency circumstances affected the failure of reconstruction work in 1989. A considerable role in this was played by the continuing blockade of the republic, as a result of which there was a sharp drop in deliveries of everything necessary. Today train traffic has once again been suspended, and yesterday Kanaker Aluminum Plant, which supplies 2,000 food and electrical equipment industry enterprises with foil, stopped work. There is a similar situation at other plants and factories in Armenia. The refugee problem is also very serious for the republic.

The general director went on to express his views on the creation of free enterprise zones and joint production facilities and on measures to improve the economy. He informed the gathering that a "Rebirth" national program is being drawn up in Armenia and will hopefully make it possible to extricate the republic's economy and social sphere from their dead-end state. The speaker emphasized that Armenia's working people conceive of the implementation of these plans only within the framework of the Soviet federation. [passage omitted]

V.I. Karolchuk, fitter at Vilnius "Zhalgiris" Machine Tool Building Plant, drew attention to the fact that there had been virtually no joyous notes in the speeches over the 2 days of the conference's work. His own speech also abounded with somber motifs. He described the situation in Lithuania as very grave and even expressed the conviction that processes are developing there in the direction of a "revival of Nazism."

The "Zhalgiris" worker cited examples demonstrating, in his opinion, the legitimacy of such an assertion. The monopolization of the mass media in the republic by "a handful of representatives of the nationalist creative intelligentsia," the blackening of people with different views, separatism in the Lithuanian Communist Party, and so forth have become a reality, he said.

The speaker urged the gathering to resolutely oppose those who advance the idea of an economic blockade of the Baltic republics, pointing out that working people above all will suffer as a result of such a confrontation. At the same time he criticized the country's leadership for tractability in resolving the question of the Baltic republics' economic independence at the Second USSR Supreme Soviet Session.

It is very difficult to speak against the background of the events taking place in the republic, T.M. Azizov, general director of the "Azerbaydzhan" Science-and-Production Association, said. If I pronounce the word "internationalism," he remarked, many people might have doubts. But I want to say that the city of Baku was, is, and will be international. The engineer recalled the republic's revolutionary traditions.

In his opinion, for relative calm to come about, two questions must be urgently resolved: to forbid anyone from making territorial claims by regions against each other in the future, as well as tackling in earnest the problems of the refugees on both sides—their housing, work, and material supplies.

However, the leader of the multinational collective pointed out, it is impossible to reach agreement under conditions of escalating actions by persons who do not want perestroika. He advocated taking decisive measures against corrupt groups which are still getting away with everything, including slander against honest people.

The speech complained about the moral and ethical content of certain press articles. It is necessary to end this unbridled conduct, as the speaker put it.

The association director criticized the republic leadership for tardiness in taking emergency measures for the perestroika of the regional economy. [passage omitted]

CPSU Ideology Chief Views Reader Concerns

90UN0667A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA
in Russian 11 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Article by A. Kapto, chief of the Ideological Department of CPSU Central Committee: "Look Truth in the Eyes"]

[Text] Letters addressed to the Ideological Department of the CPSU Central Committee were the impetus for these paragraphs. This mail (last year more than 7,000 letters were received) is a snapshot of all social processes and conflicts. Party members and nonparty persons, and people of various nationalities, ages, and professions write about what troubles them most. While reading these lines, you literally sense the pulse of the life of both the country and the party. I will try to single out several of the problems that disturb our comrades more than any others. Concern for the fate of socialism runs through many of the letters: what kind of a society did we build, and where is the country heading now? Judging by the mail, some of the authors, who were unable to distinguish an honest search for the truth from deliberate speculation, got lost in the flow of judgments that poured down on them from newspaper and journal columns and from television screens. On one hand, people calling themselves leftist radicals are raising the threat of famine and a crash, and they are urging: "People's deputies, go on strike!" On the other hand, threats are raised by those who are categorized as right-wing conservatives. And all of this is against a background of store counters that are getting empty and a growing crime rate.

Still, we will try to look at our society calmly. What is typical for it?

Of course, one cannot expect a full answer to this question within the scope of a newspaper article. I will note only several specific features—in other words, an outline for a portrait. A gap is noticed in the pace of perestroika in the political and economic structures. The supporters of various groups, schools, and concepts are putting forth their own economic aims, which are at times directly opposite that which they said a year or two before, but not one of them, as much as can be judged, received broad public recognition. These disputes also surfaced at the Second Congress of People's Deputies, which, as a result of intense discussions, enriched and supported the program for improving the economy proposed by the government.

The transfer of authority to the soviets is proceeding in a complicated way and painfully, which is also attested to in our letters and in conversations with people's deputies. Under these conditions, there is a growth in the activity of informal organizations and movements that are not always, to put it frankly, guided by constructive aims. All of this, considering the situation in the market, evokes a great deal of socio-psychological tension. Contradictory processes and ambiguous phenomena are reflected in a differentiation of the social conscience.

Perhaps the word "crisis" is being used more than any other lately. Indeed, the crisis phenomena are apparent. But is crisis a synonym for hopelessness? I would like to recall the Leninist thinking in connection with this, which has, in my opinion, a methodological significance. "Every crisis," V.I. Lenin wrote in 1915, "denotes (during a possible temporary delay and repression) an acceleration in development, an aggravation of contradictions, their detection, and the crash of all that is rotten, and so forth. So, a crisis has to be looked at from this standpoint," Vladimir Ilyich concluded his thought by analyzing the specific events of those days, "are there not progressive and useful features in every crisis." (Complete Works, vol. 26, p. 872).

Let us proceed from this position to an analysis of the socio-political situation of our days. And then we will not perceive the word "crisis," used appropriately or inappropriately, as a catastrophe, and we will not intimidate millions of our countrymen with it, but, cutting out all that is rotten, we will find the opportunity to accelerate development. In fact, this is the road that the Central Committee has been following in recent years. It is enough to mention the materials of the 19th party conference and the Plenum of the Central Committee, which so profoundly and thoroughly developed questions concerning national education, interethnic relations, and other fundamental problems. It is impossible not to see how with each new step our understanding of the historical processes is becoming more profound, and how our ideas about the past, present, and the future are being enriched.

But then a seemingly unexpected detail for our days: In one of the obkoms [oblast party committee], local social science teachers got interested in whether they could extend the discussion and express their point of view on one or another of the positions of M.S. Gorbachev's article, "The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Perestroika." The colleagues readdressed the question to Moscow, although they themselves called for discussions many times. However, the habit of many years of getting everything said approved from above is still strong, whether it is the wording of the "Short Course", or whether it is official memoirs. But one would hope that reflections would evoke alternate reflections, debate, and argument. So that our general capital of knowledge would be added to, helping to renew society and restructure the party.

About the party, incidentally, a great number of people are writing letters to the Central Committee. In my opinion, one should proceed on this question from the fact that, with the creation of the rigid administrative-command system in the CPSU, the functions of a political party were deformed to a significant degree. After this, the 20th congress of the party underwent changes, but they, unfortunately, did not concern themselves with the sources of the deformations. It is precisely with this that a certain loss of party authority is associated. But, speaking of this, it must be seen clearly that some of our critics are not at all concerned about the authority of the CPSU. They have other aims. They are using glasnost to defame the party, and they are trying to undermine its organizational foundations. It is to this that the discussions around Article 6 of the Constitution are tied. But let us think about it: What is this, the obstacle to perestroika against which all forces have to be hurled? Of course not. This provision can be renewed together with the whole Constitution, with deliberation and comprehension of the new role of the party in a renewing society. What is the future party seen to be like? Briefly, then, it seems to me that it will be a party of a renewed humanistic socialism that would depart from direct economic management functions and take on a political character. Besides this, ideological unity (not to be confused with uniformity) will be the integrating and system-forming principle of the party, and the common character in understanding the basic ways of the socio-political and economic development of the country, on the basis of which its organizational cohesion will also be developed. Do we have the forces in our ranks that can forge such a party? Defend our ideals? Rebuff the slanderers and demagogues?

I want to say simply that this will be done only on condition that an aggressive political position is taken by the primary party organizations and, first and foremost, in work collectives, in plants, factories, and mines. This was always important, and, today especially, when the front lines pass through the hearts and minds of each thinking person, an active, fighting position of party organizations, committees, and bureaus becomes a compulsory condition for the socialist development of the country.

And here I would like to emphasize especially the role of the party organizations of the production collectives and of the communist workers. Recently, justifiably renouncing dogmatism and the mechanical application of dogma, many authors have become reluctant to defend the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the values of socialism. Among these are the role of the working class in the development of society, and Marxism-Leninism as a theoretical expression of the basic views of the workers, which are inseparably and organizationally associated with the interests of all workers. This association, incidentally, has found expression under current conditions in the new political thinking, with its priority on the human being.

The strike movement of the summer of 1989 showed the total complexity and contradictoriness of the processes that are flowing through the worker environment. And the fact that some people in general have stopped talking about the workers, rushing from glorifying "the majesty" to the other extreme, did not cause the working class to lose its position in society, which was objectively conditioned by the level and method of production. On the contrary, sensing that its interests were being infringed upon, it responded with a strike. Given all of the ambiguity of this phenomenon for our society, it is necessary to note the maturity of many of the mining collectives. They came out against those forces that hoped to gain political capital out of the worker movement.

Life affirms that perestroika can be successful, expressing the interests of the worker collectives by basing itself on them. This refers both to perestroika in society as a whole and to perestroika in the party itself.

It is necessary to recall today that the communist movement was born and developed first of all as a movement of the proletariat. Much water has passed under the bridge since its first steps. Radical changes have occurred not only in it, not only in the entire world, but the working class itself has become unrecognizable. Its appearance has changed, but as before the working person is the key figure in contemporary society. We must proceed from this.

The authors of some letters note that now as always, however, and always at turning points in history, authority becomes the key question. In addition, some radicals want to exclude the workers from this process. They say give to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to the metal worker what is metal work. Naturally, they reserve for themselves the role of Caesar. They also cite the elections of the USSR People's Deputies: They say, that the people voted "for us," and not "for them."

Political scientists are still faced with studying, trying to understand, and deriving conclusions from their findings. But it is not difficult to note that many worker candidates became victims of dishonest political speculation, when some of the adversaries hung various labels

on them. Both the inexperience and the lack of preparation of the workers themselves for preelection campaigning under conditions of democracy and glasnost had an effect. And there was a big miscalculation here by party committees which did not "calculate" the situation, did not get prepared for it themselves, and did not prepare the worker-candidates.

Preelection campaigns have already been held in some places and are under way in others. Candidates are being nominated for local and republic organs of authority. The situation is being repeated. But can one really seriously think about the sovereignty of the people without participation in local soviets of workers and peasants? Because it is necessary to think also about the economic base of the local soviets. But its economic independence of authority, which also means its political independence, can be assured only by work collectives.

I will now quote a passage from a letter from M. Teplitskiy, the deputy chief engineer of one of the machine building plants in the city of Orel:

"Attacks on the party at various meetings remain unanswered. Why is this happening this way? I do not believe that there are no worthy defenders of the rights of the individual in the party apparatus. I want to cite this fact. For many years we propagandists were forced to go to seminars. But when we learned that questions would be answered at the seminar by Gennadiy Zyuganov (I forget his patronymic) from the Orel Obkom, there were no seats anywhere in the auditorium. Here is really a born party tribune. I think he is now in Moscow, teaching in the VPSH (higher party school attached to the CPSU Central Committee). It seems to me that G. Zyuganov would not give in to extremists at any meeting. It is necessary to forestall critics and demagogues and to wrest the initiative from them."

I will not conceal the fact that it was pleasant reading these lines: Gennadiy Andreyevich Zyuganov worked until recently as an organizer of replies in the Ideological Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and he is now confirmed as the deputy supervisor of the department. His militant and profoundly reasoned speeches are now known not only in Orel, but in many other cities of the country as well. Alongside the mental ability of Zyuganov, I will put dozens and hundreds of party comrades who are distinguished by deep conviction in the ideals of socialism, an ability to go on the offensive, and an ability to understand people. Of course, one would like to see more people like this. But what has become now of the many (by all accounts) propagandists, agitators, lecturers, and reporters on domestic and international events? Why are they not heard on the squares, where all kinds of "tribunes" and latter-day messiahs set the pitch.

This question troubles Leningrad communist D. Epstein. He notes an obvious defect in the social conscience, when all of the postrevolutionary years are presented as

a "foundation pit." The letter is typical. This approach is not concurred in by hundreds and hundreds of comrades who are calling for those who willingly or unwillingly denigrate all that was done by generations of Soviet people to be rebuffed.

It seems that in assessing the past, the pendulum of social opinion has unjustifiably swung to the exact opposite of the former position. Thus, one half-truth is replaced by another, and our October choice is put into question. The party, the revolution, and Lenin are being discredited. The "blank spots" of history are being thickly colored with blood. These are schemes with far-reaching consequences. The pages of PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, the journal KOMMUNIST, and a number of other publications assessed the attempts to revise all of history and to provoke the Stalinist crimes onto Lenin. I want to state a firm conviction: The Soviet people will not give up Lenin, October, and socialism to anyone. Attempts to make apologies for the tsar and to reanimate concepts that were doomed by history itself are hopeless. However, they are building up, reflecting a scattering of opinions that are characteristic for such crucial stages in the development of society. It is therefore that much more important for all healthy forces to mobilize themselves.

Smears and criticism are far from one and the same thing. Before our eyes, under the flag of the pluralism of opinions, and under the slogan of the humanization of social relations, there is a gradual accommodation to the kind of pluralism of actions which is aimed at weakening socialism and at its discreditation.

These attempts must really be repulsed. But who, it was frankly asked at one of the shop party meetings, is ready for this? Who would be able to undertake polemics with those informals who hold antisocialist positions? Of the somewhat more than 100 persons, it turns out that only 10 attended meetings, and only one joined the discussion. Is it necessary to wait for some kind of directive in order to show one's position? Of course not. If a communist has convictions it means he must stand up for them and defend our ideals. At the meeting and in the smoking room, in the shop and on the street—everywhere! And if there are no convictions, is it not better to ask oneself: Are you taking your place in this crucial time?

In reading the frontline journal of Aleksandr Petrovich Dovzhenko, the remarkable writer and film producer, I made this kind of extract: "It is not by bread, and not by sugar, and not by cotton, and not by coal alone that a person will live in socialism." Under this note is the date: 2 April 1941, before and after the infernal pictures of the war. At that bloody time as well, the thinking of the writer was addressed to the soul of a person, and to his world.

In actual fact, do we in our party work often even now, in the 5th year of perestroyka, attend to the person and to his concerns, pains, and joys? Listen to what is heard

most of all at party meetings. In some, as it was many years ago, there is talk about indices, plans, tons, and kilometers. In others, losing their heads, they cannot begin a dialogue with the representatives of informal movements. In general, neither of these often sees the living person with his rich internal world, feelings, and emotional experiences. In the ideas of other comrades from the ideological camp, a person is no more than a screw. This is the grave legacy of the administrative system, with which it is not easy to cope. Because even today, schools generally rank children and teenagers only according to their pupils' mark books. And the raykom [rayon party committee] looks at the percentages first of all, not thinking why the "front-rank pupil," whose portrait adorns the Honor Board, is not held in esteem in the work collective.

It seems to me that perestroyka in the party is associated, first and foremost, with radical changes in our attitude towards the person and the rebirth of Leninist humanity. Such views are more and more frequently shared by party workers whom you meet in discussion clubs, in problem seminars, and in meetings. It is discussions and a respectful and frank dialogue that attract people. Rejecting old forms of work, houses and offices of political education, transformed into socio-political and information-propaganda centers, are finding their new role. Many questions are raised through the cooperation of party committees and the mass media. The renewal of ideological work, and its liberation from routine and clichés, is unthinkable without changes in the methods of party influence on the work of the means of information. Party "assistants" and such other definitions have gone irretrievably into the past. It is time to build an organizational-political relationship between the party committees and their editorial staffs on the basis of co-authorship and mutual support. This is the essence of the current model of political leadership by means of information.

Unfortunately, in individual regions the party committees, as before, are trying to dictate, especially to local publications and large-circulation newspapers, what and when to write, in fact, identifying the political leadership with managerial functions. This engenders disputes. Investigating them, the workers of the department went to the Karelian ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] and to the Ukraine, and to the Ulyanovsk and Kuybyshev oblasts. By a decision of the party committee of the NPO [scientific production association] "Petravodskbummash" [Petrozavodsk paper-making machinery], the editor of the large circulation newspaper MASHINOSTROITEL, L. Opanasyuk, was released from work and immediately afterwards the administration of the association discharged her because of staff reductions. Not going into the details of this story (PRAVDA reported on it in detail), I will note the main thing: The editor of the newspaper was reinstated to her former position, and the bureau of the gorkom [city party committee] canceled the groundless decisions. This story is instructive for everyone who, as formerly,

attempts to see in journalists only the executors of official directives, who do not take the positions of journalists into account, and who cannot at all appreciate that journalism is, first and foremost, creative work.

On the other hand, there is a lot of evidence of another kind. When newspapermen perceive perestroika as a mandate for absolute independence. There is no such independence anywhere in the world. Last year the central press even organized a discussion on the advisability of "banishing" newspapers from party committees. Such attitudes are possible in places where the party workers, fearing charges of retrogression, stop being involved with the press entirely. As a result, confrontation grows.

One can hope that, with the adoption of the USSR Law on the Press and Other Mass Media, the draft of which has now been submitted for national discussion, firm legal guarantees will be established to protect the interests of the founder, publisher, journalists, and readers.

Despite all of the costs, it is not worth dramatizing the situation: An overwhelming majority of the mass media is working on perestroika. It has done a lot for the socialist pluralism of opinions and the extension of democracy. In improving the political management of the press, the party does not intend to give up the development of a scientifically developed political line, the definition of critical tasks, and the directions of the activity of the mass media.

Of course, in doing this, it should always be remembered that none of us has a monopoly on the truth. Therefore, there are more contacts with the people, more discussions, and more debates, in order to take into account every rational grain of thought in an opponent's thinking.

In concluding this conversation, I would like, from the pages of *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*, to thank everyone who wrote to us. The democratization of social relations also had an effect on the mail. There is a noticeably larger number of letters, constructive thoughts, and proposals about perestroika, the country, the society, and the party. And this is heartening in all the complexities of the present day. The people feel themselves responsible for the future.

CPSU Ideology Official on Student Forum

90UN0657A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Jan 90 First Edition p 4

[Article by V. Ryabov, deputy chief of the Ideological Department of the CPSU Central Committee: "A Labor of Understanding"]

[Text] The student forum was held quite some time ago. But the effect of its discussions are still felt in student and other circles.

Perhaps even the most complicated sociological research is not in a position to give as convincing and clear a notion of the increasing pace of sociopolitical life in this country as this forum demonstrated. It was an unusual event in our political life because it brought the higher political and state leadership into a direct, informal, and frank conversation with young people.

Here, at the forum, the speech by M.S. Gorbachev presented the people with a program of political action and state measures to accelerate perestroika and to increase the pace of economic reform. M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov responded for about three hours to direct questions by an audience of 1,500 students whose inquisitive thinking took in almost all problems of society.

The unprecedented dialogue was continued in discussion centers, where members and candidates for membership to the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, secretaries of the Central Committee, heads of committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the government of the country, the USSR ministers, answered pointed questions, and frankly laid out their views on problems that troubled the young people. The delegates of the forum met with USSR people's deputies, and they visited ministries and departments and mass media organs. The students were given a unique opportunity for direct contact at all levels of party leadership and state control. An overwhelming majority of the delegates took full advantage of this opportunity.

A majority of the delegates went through their election campaign in VUZ's [higher educational institution] and in professional student associations that are directed by people's fronts and various independent associations of young students. As a rule, these are people who, from their own positions, have concerns and who often are radically inclined.

It seemed that the perestroika processes themselves, in all of their diversity and contradictions, with their sore points and regional and national peculiarities, with the whole spectrum of political passions and antipathies that exist in society, gathered in one assembly at the student forum.

It can be said with certainty that during the five days of work of the forum a process of collective recognition of the contemporary realities of perestroika transpired, and a comparison was made of personal views and ideas with that which is being undertaken by the party, the Supreme Soviet, and the government to overcome crisis phenomena.

And the forum resolutely supported perestroika and the political policy of the CPSU for renewing socialism; it rejected irrational maximalism, and it came out for a realistic, prudent approach to assessments and actions.

It is in this that the real fruits of democratization are seen which enable the young students to join perestroika

and to act deliberately and maturely when it senses its responsibility for independently made decisions.

The problems of ideals, constitutional rights and freedoms, and social feeling and self-expression which trouble all categories of young people, as well as the fulfillment by the youths and young girls of their civic responsibilities, are resolved today not in scholastic debates but in real matters. It is shortsighted, and even stupid, to confine young people to the back seat of political life. It becomes more and more apparent that damage is caused by efforts to subordinate youthful energy, enthusiasm, and initiative to the continuous reproduction of the way of life of the older generations that has set in and that seems unshakable.

Through the active mass participation of the young people in perestroika, we must reinforce the trust of a large number of young people in the party, in the USSR Supreme Soviet and its structures, which are now being renewed in the state, and in government organs; ensure a natural succession of generations, and develop confidence in tomorrow and in the irreversibility of the movement toward a highly humane socialist society. Without reliance on youth and trust in it, any party and any society forfeits its future. This obvious truth is especially a topical question today.

There is something to think about here for local party and soviet organs, the USSR State Committee for Public Education, the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League], other public organizations, and independent associations, if they seriously aim to intensify the results of reorganizations in society. It was sad to hear, for example, from delegates of the All-Union Student Forum that pupils in higher schools in many raykoms [rayon party committee] are enrolled in the party according to a quota system, and that even the activists of student self-government are not informed of the scope of VUZ independence and about the rights of students in the implementation of educational reforms.

And so it happens that quite a few intelligent and energetic young people, who are sincerely interested in perestroika, and who, not finding a response to their initiative and energy in party committees and Komsomol organizations, and, finally, in the teacher collective, are compelled to seek other opportunities for their realization. But there is now an abundance of various kinds of well-wishers, who are ready to take young people under their wing for purposes of self-interest.

But even the reform of education itself loses much, because its implementation does not earnestly include the most interested participants—those in whose name, in fact, it is being conducted. An unusually wide range of problems associated with the renewal of higher and middle special schools appeared at the forum in a quite varied way.

Representatives of student collectives presented questions to state organs in a direct and uncompromising way

concerning material-technical support of training establishments and the social and everyday living conditions of students and pupils. It is gratifying that, realistically assessing the economic situation and financial difficulties, the delegates of the forum also displayed their readiness for constructive actions in resolving education problems. These proposals were received with understanding and will be reviewed by the government carefully.

The problems of social and everyday living support resounded very loudly. And, nevertheless, if you turn to the main conclusions that issued from the energetic discussions, they showed with great clarity that today the reason for the slowdown in the higher and middle special school is a shortage of democratization and a shortage of self-government in the broad sense of this word.

The state of reform in the higher and middle special school does not look at all as attractive in the eyes of students as it sometimes seems to be in accounts. Of course, a number of strategic decisions were made. But they are calculated for a prolonged period. But a student cannot simply wait five or six years. For him this is an entire student's life. However, the energy of the initiative and the internal reserves of the system of education itself in achieving a new quality of training are poorly activated.

According to numerous student comments, independent work is organized inefficiently in many VUZ's. It is not enough simply to increase the time for this. There is a need for a qualitative reorganization of the educational process, another content and composition of educational disciplines, a system of faculty and course selection, continuously operating seminars and colloquiums. But this does not exist in a majority of the VUZ's.

Or take such a problem as the study of social science disciplines. The extreme dissatisfaction of student bodies with the quality of their instruction until recently literally shook up many VUZ's. A radical renewal has begun in the system of instruction of social science in the higher school. An objective is being established to assist the future specialist to master Marxist-Leninist theory as a study which objectively reflects the laws of the development of human civilization and social thought. Then he would have a command of the dialectical method as a scientific method of understanding socialist reality, and as a method of thinking.

The VUZ's have received the right to introduce a wide range of subjects of the liberal arts cycle: sociology, political science, social psychology, the history of world culture, and others—in accordance with the desires of the students, and taking into account the sociocultural features of a region. In other words, it is a question of the intellectual rearrangement of the whole process of mastering modern social science—both for the teachers and the students.

There is a need to update the legal base of economic relations of the higher school with the branches and local

organs. And they must be an organic part of a single economic mechanism. Under the new economic conditions, the quality of training of specialists cannot be raised and the educational base cannot be led out of backwardness if there is no assurance of the close cooperation of the system of training and the employers of personnel on a mutually beneficial contractual basis. Its absence for all practical purposes restrains future progress. Self-financing resulted in notable difficulties in the organization of valuable student practice in enterprises. The inadequate calculation of the specifics of the higher school in the switch of VUZ science to economic accountability in many cases leads to the fact that fewer and fewer students are involved in economic contract research.

The students, studying in their own educational institutions, often do not see a convincing counteraction to these negative trends, and they evaluate the progress of reorganizations, to put it mildly, with reserve. The problem is that the command style of administration gives up its positions in the area of education with difficulty—it is gradually shifted from the upper echelons of control to the middle level. And it is entirely unnatural—the delegates spoke about this especially critically, that the authoritarian style of management continues to dominate the entire way of life in many technical secondary schools and even VUZ's. Students and graduate students not only are not involved in the resolution of various questions of the activity of daily life of a VUZ. Adopted decisions about strengthening the independence of VUZ's and the rights of students and pupils in the management of the educational institution are concealed from them in a literal sense. For the time being, the principle proclaimed by the State Committee for Public Education "the VUZ is for the student" remains a slogan in many ways.

Student years and years of study are a unique opportunity at a young age to have access to the richest treasury of knowledge. Knowledge and abilities grow with persistent work. This work must be organized in a really efficient way. In this are seen the most powerful levers of the restructuring of education. Here are our main reserves as well. The effectiveness of the restructuring of education, in the final analysis, will determine the radical changes in the relationships between those who want to study selflessly and those who want to and can teach creatively. So, there is a need to unite their reciprocal initiatives and to create an atmosphere of goodwill and mutual understanding.

It is from these positions that it is considered necessary to examine the progress of reform in the higher and middle school, to analyze the proposals submitted by delegates of the forum, and to make the necessary decisions at all levels of supervising public education.

The main lesson of the forum is that it showed the vital need to conduct work continuously and energetically with the students in a straightforward way.

A frank conversation without interpreters at the level of a higher political leadership evoked a broad response from the young people. Now the matter is up to the party committees and the party organizations of educational institutions. Today, incidentally, the All-Union Seminar of Secretaries of Partkoms of Universities and Liberal Arts VUZ's, where there will be an examination of ways of renewing party work in educational institutions and problems in the development of the student movement.

It is important for all of us to recognize that among us, those who are working in auditoriums and laboratories of VUZ's and technical secondary schools, are those who will move science, education, and culture forward, and who will arrive at the management of society. It is urgently necessary that they recognize as soon as possible the burden of the impending responsibility in their own future. And, having realized this, it is necessary that they firmly master the fundamental principles of science, and that they command the wealth of world culture. We accepted with all of our heart and put into effect the principles of perestroika, and its ideological, ethical, and intellectual guidelines.

Church, Prison Relations Developing

90UN06764 Moscow LESNAYA
PROMYSHLENNOST in Russian 6 Jan 90 p 4

[Article by Interior Service Lieutenant Colonel V. Prokopenko: "To Hear a Confession"]

[Text] Senior Monk Sergiy from the Moscow Patriarchate has visited convicts in the Butyrki Investigative Isolation Facility. For the first time in 70 years, a pastor rather than a prisoner has passed through the prison wall thus confirming that one more barrier erected by the administrative-command system has been torn down.

The First Congress of USSR People's Deputies declared war on the criminal underworld. The second congress adopted a special resolution in this matter. An all-union program for combating crime is being worked out. It would be unwise not to use the potential of religious organizations → this end.

Unfortunately, for a long time the opinion has prevailed in our country that the socialist system and its legislation in effect altogether rule out an opportunity for the church and the state, including its law enforcement organs, to cooperate. However, at a meeting with journalists USSR Minister of Internal Affairs V.V. Bakatin expressed his desire to establish closer contacts with the clergy. Such interaction could occur in the sphere of social problems, such as combating alcohol and drug addiction, settling interethnic conflicts, reeducating and resocializing the convicts.

I would like to give examples. In one of the rayons of Bukhara Oblast, a social council for assistance with job placement of individuals leaving correctional facilities was set up. Along with representatives of the authorities and heads of economic units, representatives of the

Orthodox and Muslim clergy belong to the council, as well as former convicts who left correctional facilities long ago and have become members of our society enjoying equal rights.

The Patriarch's Exarch of the Ukraine Metropolitan of Kiev and Galich Filaret visited a maximum-security correctional facility in the vicinity of Kiev. The Political Administration of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] suggested this visit. After meeting the prisoners, Metropolitan Filaret told me: "They handed me a note from a prisoner. It read: 'Had you come here sooner there would be fewer of us here today.'"

One cannot but agree with this. Certainly, we should not exaggerate the influence of the church on the education of ethics; however, it can make easier the lot of those who are confined in detention facilities, influence their conscience and soul.

Quite recently, Minister of Internal Affairs V.V. Bakatin endorsed "Recommendations for Mutual Relations Between Correctional Labor Facilities and Religious Organizations and the Clergy," the first such document in the history of the Soviet system of correctional labor.

This is a very timely and perestroika-minded document. According to it, a person isolated from society will enjoy the right to perform religious rites if this does not infringe on the legal rights of other convicts and does not violate the rules of interior regimen.

Convicts are given the right to have in their possession crosses and other similar devotional objects provided they are not made of precious metals. At briefings, Soviet and foreign journalists frequently ask: Do convicts have a right to use the Bible, the Koran and other religious literature? The recommendations explain: Convicts may have books with a religious content, published in the USSR, received from members of the clergy during their visits or from relatives. The Bible and the Koran may also be sent in a parcel or a small package...

In this reference, I would like to stress that the recommendations are an important practical implementation step by the Soviet side in the course of complying with the obligations assumed at the Vienna meeting on security and cooperation in Europe in January 1990.

It goes without saying that the administration of correctional labor facilities must take all the measures necessary in order to ensure the personal security of a member of the clergy. Unfortunately, this is a valid issue. Recently, the aggressiveness of convicts has increased due to considerable changes in the crime-inducing situation in detention facilities.

The hope is that close contacts with the church will help the administration of correctional labor facilities stabilize the situation in the units where it has become

particularly acute and will help many convicts recognize their guilt and bring themselves to embark on the path of correction.

Violence at Corrective Labor Institutions

90UN0686A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 14 Jan 90 First Edition p 4

[Article by USSR MVD Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Mukanov: "Once, In a Colony..."]

[Text] The atmosphere has been growing tense in the correctional facilities.

Recent reports from the prisons sound like combat reports: Prison guards and the military are attacked; people have been wounded or killed; there were cases of daring group escapes, of mass upheavals, of hostage taking—unfortunately, all the familiar and grim traits of today.

On 4 December 1989 a tragedy resulting in the loss of several lives took place in a colony for especially dangerous criminals near the Angara. A repeat offender, "sworn thief" Mikhailov, a.k.a. "Genka the Salty", decided to "have it out" with the prisoners' group that did not obey the unwritten criminal laws of the colony. Having armed himself with two knives he went to the administration building where he unexpectedly stabbed the man on duty. The colony official, Major A. Ivashchenko tried to stop the rampaging killer. When Salty dropped the bloodied knife, Aleksandr Ivanovich grabbed him but the bandit managed to snatch the second knife from behind his belt. The officer was fatally wounded.

But that seemed insufficient. Surrounded by his lackeys, Mikhailov continued on his bloody path. After the alarm was raised, the prison guards tried to contain the aggressive criminals but they shoved the administrators to the side and in a crowd burst into the living quarters. The tension grew. Threats and obscenities were aimed at the guards and the military; many in the crowd were armed with metal rods and screwdrivers. Salty, drunk with blood and impunity, sought other victims.

The colony was stirred to the point of exploding. Two dozen guards and the military could barely restrain the tumult of several hundred bandits. Their only weapons were the PR-73 (rubber truncheons) incapable of instilling fear in anyone in a situation like this. Everyone knew that to use it meant to be torn to pieces by the mad crowd.

The colony superintendent pleaded desperately for a submachine gun from the guard commander but the latter strictly observed the regulations. However, common sense won and the criminals were stopped by rounds of submachine gunfire.

As I think about this crime, I try more than anything to understand its motives. Mikhailov never had any conflicts with the victims, he hardly knew them. Usually

such "high ranking" criminals consider it below their dignity to "have it out" with individuals "below their level", especially those who had decided to reform. According to their unwritten laws this job should be done for them by others.

In the not so remote past Genka the Salty did not particularly stand out in his crowd. But after three years of prison his cellmates unanimously declared him a "sworn thief", which is the highest distinction among criminals. The new status seemed to open "wide vistas" to him. But then he came across a "Caucasian thief" known as Mirab who did not want to share his power. Steady rumors began spreading around the colony that soon they would put an end to Salty. He could feel the coming judgment and got nervous. The coming fight which he knew would end in a death did not allow him a moment's peace. Only the "big blood"—a thief's feat—could elevate him in the opinion of his buddies.

I spoke with Salty in the solitary detention cell and did not in the least sense any feeling of remorse or guilt. He answered every question in one and the same way: "I am a thief and I will die a thief."

This beastly but separate incident leads to quite general conclusions. Laws of the criminals fall like a ruthless axe on the heads of those prisoners who refuse to follow them. Before anyone else they strike the members of public organizations who try to prevent their reigning supreme inside the colonies. For that reason the leaders of the criminals always display the same attitude toward the individuals that they consider dangerous collaborators. Foremen and team leaders, members of the crime prevention groups (SPP) and of other public groups—the so-called supply clerks and men on duty—constitute from 60 percent to 80 percent of all those wounded, killed, maimed, and beaten.

I ask myself the same question over and over again: Is our present society capable of defending the prison officials and the military who chose this very difficult and complicated direction in life and work. I do not want to dwell on how well they are protected by the law or on their usually unsatisfactory living conditions or on their being so distant from cultural centers. I want to point out the main problem: Their safety. Today this problem is not only unsolved, it is simply blatant. These people do not even have the essential right to defend themselves. According to the existing regulations of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] they are allowed to use weapons on prison territory only if approved by the leaders of the central organizations. But as we have seen already, life very often leaves no time for conversations and telephone calls. Sometimes this leads to a tragic wrangle: One needs approval from Moscow to be able to stop a bandit or a mutinous crowd.

In the morning, not far from the colony, three of its "students" in striped jackets were unloading coffins covered with red cloth. A little later a pink granite monument was brought. On its polished surface it had a

picture of a man, in a major's uniform, with a stern and somewhat reproachful look in his eyes. I remembered the two dates: 1941 and 1989.

Yes, Aleksandr Ivanovich Ivashchenko was born in 1941, a year that was tragic for the country. But he died in peaceful times. And this death cannot be justified.

Opium Confiscated in Central Asia

LD2501031290 Moscow in English to North America
2300 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] State security bodies have uncovered a narco business network in Central Asia. Fullscale investigations started after the confiscation of almost one kilogram of opium in a car that came from abroad. Drug trafficking involved some servicemen who traveled to other countries for business. The investigators arrested second hand dealers and the network chief who surrendered big sums of money and narcotics during the search.

MVD Spokesman Interviewed on Crime Rate

PM1201093790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Major General Internal Service A. Smirnov, chief of the USSR MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) Information Center, by unnamed correspondent: "Combating Vice, With No Fear of Statistics. Some Results of Militia Activity Over the Last Year", date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] [Correspondent] Anatoliy Ivanovich, we know that the USSR MVD has just begun work on a report on the status of crime for the last year. But readers are already inquiring about the results we achieved in ensuring law and order in the country by the end of 1989.

[Smirnov] The work of internal affairs organs over the last 12 months will be examined in its entirety at an enlarged session of the USSR MVD Collegium. So I can only talk about preliminary results today.

So here are some brief figures. Internal affairs and prosecutor's office organs recorded 2,462,692 crimes in 1989, a 31.8-percent increase on 1988. Of these serious crime and economic crime total 15 and 10 percent respectively. More than 314,000 crimes were committed in streets, squares, parks, and public gardens in population centers. The proportion of crimes committed in cities and urban-type settlements reached 74 percent. Up to 4 percent of the total number of registered criminal phenomena were committed on transport. Let me point out the following: A considerable proportion of the crimes (58 percent) was clearly mercenary. As previously, an increase was recorded in encroachments on personal, state, and public property, and also on people's lives and health.

Although, as you can see, the total number of crimes rose in 1989, the crime growth rate—which was 37.4 percent at the beginning of the year—dropped to 34 percent in mid-1989, and was 31.8 percent by the end. In December 11

percent fewer crimes involving grievous bodily harm were committed in comparison with November, and the figures for theft of personal transport and for breaches of traffic safety regulations and dangerous driving resulting in fatal accidents had fallen by 39 percent and 38.2 percent respectively. But I would not like to gloss over the acuteness of the situation. More than 257,000 crimes were detected in the economic sphere, including more than 45,000 instances of speculation, 8,313 cases of large-scale and particularly large-scale embezzlement, and 4,292 cases of bribery.

[Correspondent] Which union republics have the highest crime levels today?

[Smirnov] The criminological situation in Estonia, Lithuania, and Belorussia provokes the greatest concern. Theft of state, public, and personal property in the Armenian, Lithuanian, Turkmen, and Estonian SSR's [Soviet Socialist Republics] has almost doubled. Some 50 percent more serious crimes have been recorded in the Belorussian, Uzbek, and Estonian republics.

[Correspondent] People familiar with the moral statistics that are regularly published in IZVESTIYA often ask the following question: Where is the crime level higher—in our country or abroad? While I realize that this question is to some extent not specific, I will nonetheless pass it on to you.

[Smirnov] You are right, direct comparison of figures is difficult: Generally, every country has its own system for counting crimes. However, I will try to do this in terms of crime levels and individual components. Admittedly, we only have figures for foreign countries for 1988.

[Correspondent] All the same, how do we look in terms of crime levels per 100,000 of the population in comparison with, for instance, countries such as the United States, the FRG, and Japan?

[Smirnov] In 1988 the crime level in the USSR was 657 (in 1989 it was 866) while in the United States, the FRG, and Japan it was 5,664, 7,359, and 1,326 respectively.

In terms of individual crimes the figures look as follows: [Columns in the following table represent: A—Total number of crimes recorded in the USSR in 1988; B—Crime growth rates in the USSR in 1987 as a percentage; C—Total number of crimes recorded in the United States in 1988; D—Crime growth rates in the United States in 1987 as a percentage; E—Total number of crimes recorded in the FRG in 1988; F—Crime growth rates in the FRG in 1987 as a percentage. Minus signs before figures indicate decreases]

	A	B	C	D	E	F
Murder	16702	14.0	20675	2.9	2518	-4.3
Rape	17658	5.3	92486	1.5	5251	-0.6
Theft and robbery	80030	44.1	542968	4.9	28952	3.0
Grievous bodily harm	37191	31.6	910092	6.4	62899	-1.3

[Correspondent] Lastly. Please give us a brief assessment of the work of internal affairs organs to clear up crimes. Quite recently we published depressing figures: 2 million unsolved cases—that was the USSR MVD's "backlog"...

[Smirnov] In general the clear-up rate was 59.3 percent. For murder (and attempted murder) it was almost 87 percent, for rape (and attempted rape) it was 85.3 percent, and for willful grievous bodily harm it was 71.2 percent. The situation is worse with regard to solving cases of theft of state, public and personal property—36.5 and 32.5 percent respectively. Internal affairs organs found 128,449 criminals (78.9 percent of those under investigation), and 75,805 missing persons (80.1 percent) have been found.

Meskhetian Turk Delegation at Supreme Soviet

PM2501162390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "USSR Supreme Soviet Reception Room"]

[Text] Comrade I.O. Bisher, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, has received representatives of the Meskhetian Turk population. Questions perturbing these people were attentively listened to during the conversation, and detailed answers to them were given.

In addition, Comrade I.O. Bisher informed them that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has received proposals from the Commission on Problems of the Meskhetian Turk Population which will be examined thoroughly in the very near future.

Lessons Drawn From Local Soviet Elections

90UN0701A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA
in Russian 10 Jan 90 p 1

[Article by Yuriy Kurbatov: "A Repetition of the Past?"]

[Text] We are entering a new turn in a very critical campaign that concludes a phase of preparation for elections to republic and local organs of authority. And the fact that the campaign is no laughing matter is indicated by the results of the two first rounds of elections to local soviets that were held on 10 December in Latvia and Estonia, and on 24 December in Kazakhstan and Tajikistan. What have they added to our experience?

Positive tendencies, unquestionably, can be observed. Party organizations and the trade unions began the election campaign much earlier and more aggressively. Many oblast and republic committees of the party published preelection manifestoes. There is a shift in many regions from confrontation with various informal associations to dialogue, to working out joint preelection

platforms, and to the nomination of single candidates, as it was, for example, in a number of districts in Latvia. There the residents of Yurmala for the first time in our country got the opportunity to elect a gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee] chairman through a direct vote.

Here is one more important sign of the times. Each of the republics itself determined not only the periods for the preelection campaigns, but also decided how the elections would take place. It should be said that the campaign which broke out around the republic laws on elections was no joke. Having learned from the experience of the spring political campaign, the voters resolutely demanded that the old methods be renounced, and they came out in favor of an abolition of preelection meetings and elections from public organizations and districts without alternative candidates. These demands were taken into account in many of the preelection documents of the republics.

It would seem that democratic principles are gradually being asserted more and more in our political life. But let us not fall into euphoria: The process of democratization is proceeding with great difficulty, far from uniformly in various regions of the country, and with breakdowns and outbreaks of relapses into the past. The force of inertia is still strong in us, and the roots of the administrative-command system are deep.

Each of the republics has reacted in its own way to the criticism of the organization of the spring election campaign. Some of the republics considered the compulsory registration of alternative candidates

But in Kazakhstan and Belorussia, it seems it was decided not to experiment. Here, apparently, they did not particularly rely on the authority of some of the claimants to a deputy seat, and they decided to make themselves secure. Thus, a formula appeared that was as streamlined as a ball: "Any number of candidates for deputy can be submitted for registration." There is no need to wrack one's brains for long about this: Once it is "any number," then one is also possible.

How successful our apparatus was in such "democratic" games is told in the results of the elections to the local soviets in Kazakhstan. Here three-fourths of the districts ended up with only a single candidate for deputy. And to tell the truth, the lower the level of authority, the higher the ambition.

The arsenal of resources here was verified a long time ago: "transparent" hints, wringing of hands, and power pressure. Here are only some of the facts that were conveyed by our correspondents. In Alma-Ata's satellite city of Talgar, on the very eve of the elections, A. Yeginson, chief of the "Almatazelensstroy" trust, withdrew his candidacy. And his opponent, A. Popovich, the first secretary of the party raykom [rayon party committee], was left without competition.

Everything repeats itself. Because we remember that it was in the spring elections in Kazakhstan that 17 first secretaries of the party obkom [oblast party committee] were single candidates on the list for secret balloting. As we see, the example of the "seniors" also inspires the "juniors."

Times, of course, change. Our life is suffused more and more with a revolutionary content. The command-administrative system also is able to change its color. We were convinced of this more than once.

Against a background of intensified social adversity, the bureaucratic manipulations of the elections cause a retaliatory reaction among the people. Representatives of the Karaganda strike committee, for example, called on the population to boycott elections where leaders who were candidates for deputy were running "unopposed." This example was followed in several other regions of the republic.

Speaking about the results of the elections to USSR people's deputy, we were forced to state that the clear losers were, first and foremost, representatives of the workers, members of kolkhozes [collective farm], the young people, and women. And this today is the principal argument of those who defend the idea of elections from public organizations. However even public organizations in those elections sharply limited the number of seats for workers and peasants.

It appears that now the situation is being repeated. In Tomsk Oblast, for example, of the 45 candidates nominated in the Russian parliament, there is not one worker or kolkhoznik. In the North Ossetia ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], there is not one woman among the 23 candidates. The problem here, it seems, is not in the distribution system (it also functioned in the elections for USSR people's deputies), but in the specific situations and capabilities: As a rule, the worker candidates did not have a team that was eloquent enough, and even they themselves were not clever in controversy.

The Second Congress, as we know, chose to compromise, leaving it up to the republics, where the nomination of candidates from public organizations was already going on, to protect reputations, as the saying goes. That is what was done, for example, in Kazakhstan and Belorussia. Also remaining firm was the provision of Article 100 concerning the inclusion of any number of candidates on the election ballot. I do not want to anticipate events in other regions of the country, but the elections to local soviets of Kazakhstan tell a lot.

The preelection situation in the Baltic republics was, perhaps, the most critical. It was painted in a nationalistic color and caused a sharp confrontation of the main political forces. A question was frequently decided not according to the business-like qualities of one or another candidate, but by his national origins. In Estonia, for

example, with the introduction of the residential qualification, the matter touched off strikes. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet declared some of the provisions of the laws of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] on elections to be incompatible with the USSR Constitution. The residential qualification for voters was abrogated, but it was retained for candidates for deputy. In response to this, the leaders of Interdvizhniye [Inter-movement] and the Association of the Council of Labor Collectives called for a boycott of the elections. But this, as we were able to confirm, is not the best way to handle a political campaign. As a result, in only four districts of the capital did the number of voters not reach the required 50 percent level. The boycott obviously failed. Indeed, it is difficult to say for whom it was more beneficial. The rules of political campaigning are rather severe. Unfortunately, we are still not accustomed to them. Therefore, apparently, certain costs cannot be excluded. Another thing is also clear: Representation in the Tallinn gorsoviet [city soviet] will not be proportional to the national composition of the population of the city. For the sake of objectivity, it should be observed that deputies joined the soviets with full mandates in major cities of the northeast of Estonia.

I do not think that this is the main thing. There must be one authority in our country—Soviet. And it is really not a matter that should be weighed on nationalistic scales. We could have convinced ourselves more than once that this never leads to any good.

I am completing these notes at the beginning of January when many republic district voting commissions have completed the registration of candidates for deputy. Ahead is the tense phase of the electoral campaign. Who will win and who will lose? In the end the matter will rest with the voters.

Opinion Poll on Second Deputies Congress

90UN0605A Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Jan 90 p 1

[Article by V. Petrunya, TASS observer, specially for TRUD: "Expectations and Assessments: Results of the Public Opinion Poll on the Second USSR Congress of People's Deputies"]

[Text] It still remains for all of us to cross our swords solidly around the question of ownership. In essence it is not new, this fundamental question in the restructuring of economic relations. So furiously did the diametrically opposed views of our parliamentarians gush forth at the last session of the USSR Supreme Soviet that the question of the head of government—Shall we ask the people about this?"—rang out like a warning shot, like a call to sober up prior to a heated skirmish.

We asked the people. We presented the draft Law on Ownership for their judgment. So what do the people think of it?

They feel about it the same way the individuals they elected do—in contradictory ways. This is the conclusion of sociologists of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee. It is not a final conclusion of course; passions surrounding the burning issue of perestroika continue to flare up. But already the poll shows that there is being formed in the public conscience both total acceptance and categorical rejection of private ownership: 28 percent expressed their complete support; 34 percent expressed partial support; 23 percent do not support it; and about one out of every seven people are, as of yet, undecided.

In this regard, such polarization of views exists essentially in every group of society. The days of complete unanimity are long since gone. And now those who prepared the draft Law on Ownership already have bitter food for thought: Only 15 percent of those polled are generally satisfied with it.

The attitude towards ownership comprises just one aspect of the all-union operational studies conducted on the eve of and during the Second USSR Congress of People's Deputies by a group of sociologists headed by Professor N.P. Pishchulin. Thousands of people were polled from all the main economic and geographical regions of the country, representing the basic socio-demographic and socio-professional groups of the population.

The significant interest shown in the congress—by 72 percent of respondents to researchers' questions either by questionnaire or over the telephone—is understandable. Experts note that such interest corresponds to an acknowledgment of the complexity of the socio-political situation in the country. It is no accident that the assessments of the workers are more critical now than was the case with the first congress. The most prevalent opinion (37 percent of those polled) was that the country is in a pre-crisis state. Some 31 percent believe it is in a crisis state. Only one out of every four sees the situation as being ambiguous—good in some ways, bad in some ways. Only 4 percent of those polled were completely satisfied on the whole.

The efforts of our parliamentarians to seek a way out of the present situation are therefore sometimes mindful of the despair of a bird attempting to get out of its cage. A great deal of impatience and haste, little good judgment and sense of reality. [sentence as published] Up to 63 percent of poll participants were dissatisfied with the efforts of parliamentarians to stabilize the country's socio-economic situation. In this regard, 35 of every 100 individuals acknowledged that their hopes and expectations regarding the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet have not been justified, 49 percent—partially justified.

Perhaps the draft Law on Pensions elicited the greatest degree of satisfaction. Of those with whom researchers conducted a dialogue, 79 percent were fully or partially satisfied with it. But here the question automatically arises as to whether or not everyone has paid attention to

that part of the government report on the draft law which contains the unobtrusive warning: Without a significant correction to improve the country's economic situation, without an accumulation of social wealth, prospects for an adequate pension fund are nothing more than self-delusion.

A more sober and critical approach was seen in the consideration of such fundamental problems of socioeconomic restructuring as the new legislation governing lease relationships and prospects presented by the draft Law on Land. It turns out that only 18 to 19 percent of the population is completely satisfied with these. True, the greatest degree of satisfaction is evident among kolkhoz [collective farm] workers—23 and 28 percent, respectively. One out of every five, on the average, is dissatisfied with the content of these acts of state, and 35 to 37 percent view them in a positive light only partially.

Yes, a general dissatisfaction with our way of life is growing just as our work effort becomes worse and worse, as store shelves quickly become empty, as responsibility and discipline drop, as the manna from heaven does not fall, and as no barriers appear along the path of our socio-economic wagon as it slides downhill—and brakes are not even available.

The sociologists ascertain that about 70 percent of workers evaluate the situation as being crisis or pre-crisis. Negative appraisals are given by 68 percent of party workers, a lower level than among students and the intelligentsia but higher than among retired people and kolkhoz workers. The conclusion is drawn that there is no significant difference between the views of party and nonparty members on this question.

But people are not just alarmed by the lack of sausage and soap. Researchers feel that, along with restoration of the economy, problems associated with the consolidation of law and order are considered the most urgent and topical by public opinion. Among the issues brought before the congress for examination, an increased effort to fight organized crime is considered of primary importance by 82 percent of those polled. Next in order of significance are measures to rehabilitate the economy, then—the Law on Constitutional Oversight.

As is the case among the deputies, society views Article 6 of the USSR Constitution in different ways. The pre-congress poll shows that approximately one out of three individuals believes this article must not be included in the Fundamental Law. Another third believes the matter should be studied prior to reaching a final decision. One out of five individuals, on the average, advocated that Article 6 be preserved. Party workers were not an exception in this regard. Greatest adherence to the existing constitutional provision was demonstrated by kolkhoz workers (33 percent—to leave Article 6 alone, 27 percent—to conduct additional study, 17 percent—to exclude).

What are our fellow citizens placing their hopes in? What social institution emerges as the most prestigious in

public opinion? Today 80 to 81 percent of those confiding their views with the sociologists tie their hopes for improvement of the country's situation to the activity of the soviets and the Congress of People's Deputies.

The degree of confidence in the party and CPSU Congress is 59 to 60 percent. Trust in the Central Committee of the VLKSM [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League], ministries and departments, and informal movements is extremely low. Only 18 to 27 percent place their hopes in these institutions in one form or another.

Following the congress, one people's deputy asked the rhetorical question: "If I am hungry, what difference does it make whether I have democratic freedom or not?" Evidently there is a difference all the same. More than 70 percent of laborers are completely or partially satisfied with the activity of their highest legislative organ regarding the development of glasnost, and expansion of the rights and freedoms of citizens.

Writer Warns of 'Destruction of Centralism'

90UN0652A Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian No 1, 5 Jan 90 pp 4-5

[Article by Aleksandr Prokhanov: "Tragedy of Centralism"]

[Text] For the second time in a century we are experiencing the tragedy of centralism. In a matter of an hour, through the forces of the parties, monarchism collapsed and the empire fell down in a heap upon our heads. In the civil war, in the crucible of social utopia, and in the attempts to resurrect the elementary management structures over the broad expanses we lost our noble elite, the fragile civil society, and the refined culture, and again we created centralism of the total Stalinist type. We have lost 60 million of our compatriots in the destruction of the centralist idea and on its resurrection. Now, for a second time, by the will of Providence and His earthly adepts, we are placing our shaven, unprotected necks into this spiral, which is as sharp as a blade.

The destruction of centralism, and the state along with it, takes place according to a verified algorithm, as though the entire program were entered onto a punch card and the sequence of operations, its rhythms, and its time periods are the result of rational efforts based on an immense potential.

Here are the paragraphs of this program.

FIRST PARAGRAPH

The integrating socialist ideology has been swept away, the communist ideal has been excluded from development, the strategic goals which formed our present out of the future, united us in a common society, which reconciled the contradictions left to us from the past, have been repudiated. The extirpation of the ideology deprived the people of a common future and brought about an immediate growth of nationalist ideas and

beliefs that tear us apart through irreversible centrifugal forces. Today we are an exploded, scattered galaxy with a black hole in the center.

SECOND PARAGRAPH

An attack was undertaken and successfully carried out on centralist structures which, with their rigid, unbending I-beams fastened on to the spatial mass of the state, bore the inordinate weight of the outlying districts, and made it possible to concentrate a colossal potential in an hour of crisis. Today these structures have been broken down and we are turning into a heap of scraps, where mountain ridges jut out of the deserts and abysses creep through the planes.

"The breakdown of the command-administrative system" in practice led to the destruction of the economy, having made it absolutely uncontrollable, caused managerial chaos, and led to the degradation of entire branches of the economy. Today our economy is an immense roaring machine, its shafts torn out of their grooves, its wheels and gears ripped off. All this continues to thunder and turn in the housing of the state, but it no longer produces anything but creaks and groans, and nobody wants to look into its shattered interior.

The Army—supernational—is a common pot of interests, concerns, and tasks; a common technosphere, a common service that pervades the entire state. The Army, with its tradition of linking the past to the present, old and young, is a guarantee of stability and sovereignty, a school of valuable centralist experience which makes it possible not only to win the most terrible war, to stand up against the pressure of the great American empire, but also to implement colossal scientific and technical programs that are pushing us into the civilization of the 21st century. The Army today is being destroyed like the columns in Afghan gorges. Vehicles at the front and rear are being set afire, and they are beginning to burn in a planned way the bulky and cumbersome object that has become frozen to the spot and lost its ability to move. Paralyzed in their actions, the general officers, who have driven the enlisted men and junior officers to insanity, are turning the Army into an immobile, demoralized mass and taking away its main defense functions.

The party, which seemed to be unified, whose nerve tissue pervaded the entire inordinate muscular system of the country, reconciling in its bowels ethnic, class, professional, and philosophical contradictions—the party today cannot be a consolidating force, for it itself is dispersed, cut up into segments of factions, and filled with internecine strife. The "social democrats" are striving for the ideal of the liberal European parties. The "neo-Stalinists" see the path to stabilization and development through totalitarian centralism. The "healthy forces" profess the power-socialist idea, which is based on humanistic conceptual socialism. Some of the Baltic communists are inclined toward democratic-Christianity. In Central Asia the party form does a poor

job of masking the clan organizations, analogues of feudal-medieval satrapies. The party, driven from power, deprived of a world view, driven into philosophical chaos, is becoming the defendant for the failures of the past and the present crisis, is being sold out by frenzied social hysteria, and is being removed from the political arena before our eyes.

Such is the destiny of the three most important centralist structures, which are burning like Bickford fuses, transformed into long veins of ashes extending from ocean to ocean.

THIRD PARAGRAPH

The attack is on the "Russian factor," on Russia, on things Russian—the state-oriented nature of the Russian individual and collective consciousness, the psychological type of the Russian person, open to interethnic ties, the sacrificial nature of the Russian economy, culture, ethnic sensibilities, which has contributed to the creation of the state. All of this is being subjected to being depressed, cast out, and insulted. The Russians are developing an inferiority complex, they are being blocked, courts of law are being set up for Russian history, the Russian character; they are being held responsible for the universal catastrophe. Russophobia is a political instrument for the destruction of the multinational state, which has largely been nurtured by the Russian ability to unite.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH

The emergence to the surface of economic life of immense wealth concentrated in private hands; the legalization of criminal operators who have been given the opportunity to rob their unprotected compatriots, to buy up material values, power, and culture, to form policy, to create the social ideal, and to eliminate and repress those who get in their way; rapidly growing social inequality, uncontrolled power that is bought, degrading culture that is bought—all this makes us a country of beggars turned millionaires, sows seeds of hatred, destroys civic unity, and breeds suspicion and hostility.

FIFTH PARAGRAPH

We partake of the world economic system, of world money, and of world financial energy which through concessions and joint business should infuse our dead tissue and sprinkle us with the water of life. Through tiny, scorched streams this money pours into our birch-bark and bast economy and reduces it to ashes. It digs channels for itself as though in wax. And our socialist giant, our planned monster, is transformed into a stump eaten by termites, filled with the dust of rubles nobody needs and noncurrency operations. World finances have their own masters, their own researchers, their own inventors. This is an area of immense knowledge kept secret from the uninitiated. Attached to world money, we give ourselves over to the hands of the real masters of the world. Centralism becomes a fiction, a means of

serving foreign negotiators and people who buy up Russian furs, icons, and molybdenum.

SIXTH PARAGRAPH

Impoverishment of the economy, poverty, a life of semistarvation, the lack of a future, moral and psychological depression, and a sense of helplessness drive the population to strikes. They are still branch strikes which hit first the mines, then the railroads, then the fleets of taxis. But they are ready to become "interbranch" strikes, to halt motors and engines in entire regions and bring the country as a whole to a standstill. Clever politicians who know the laws of mass psychosis through their calls for an all-union strike press the starter button of popular agitation and tear off the faucet of all economic and political life.

The strikes, terrible in and of themselves, involve conflicts with the forces of law and order and the Army, and are terrible also because they contain within them the threat of large technological catastrophes. In the past the strikes of the Putilov plant workers and the Lenskiy miners, with the condition of the technosphere at that time, did not threaten explosions of cities and poisoning of rivers. Today, strikes at nuclear power stations and munitions factors threaten us with Chernobyls of unprecedented force. Burning on the horizons of the city, refugees from the exploded nuclear boilers, involuntary launches of ballistic missiles, the biosphere destroyed over large expanses—this is what lies hidden behind a general strike.

SEVENTH PARAGRAPH

The final chord in this apocalyptic symphony is civil war in the USSR with all the mercilessness of the previous war with the addition of nightmarish new components brought in by the military and technical civilization. The world will look with terror on our blood-soaked expanses, belching forth nuclear and chemical miasmas into the atmosphere and oceans. In the interests of the safety of mankind and the salvation of the planet and the human race one cannot rule out the possibility of a collective attempt on the part of the countries of the world to stabilize the process in the USSR. The new entente will undertake to occupy the helpless, disarmed country and establish control through military commands in the cities and in space.

These are the points of the destruction of centralism, of which only the last one and a half have not been realized.

The seismic waves of these threatening blows spread beyond the borders of the USSR into the outside world. The entire geopolitical architecture of East Europe, which the country paid an enormous price to create, is destroyed in a matter of hours. The balance of intra-European forces is disturbed with unpredictable consequences. The sentimental theory of "Europe—our common home" has led to the collapse of East European communist parties, a change of statehood, and the inevitable unification of Germany. Toward the end of the

20th century the German industrial giant rises up in the center of Europe, filled with energy, inspired by the pan-German idea, pulling ancient German lands into its grasp. The political map of Europe changes color and configuration, and the bones of Russian infantrymen rattle in their unmarked graves.

The "philosophy of new thinking" and the "primacy of common human values over classical ones" have ended up as a neglect of the interests of the socialist state and a satisfaction of the ambitions of imperialist oligarchies. The American invasion of Panama marks a new stage in international relations when the Soviet Union, weak and displaced from regions of the world, can no longer serve as a restraining factor to the expansion of bourgeois empires. A multitude of small countries and peoples who have derived advantage from the recent stand-off are obediently running to Washington's call like mice after the Pied Piper.

Today the Soviet Union is weaker than ever before. The crisis of the seventies occurred against the background of a world crisis and destruction. Our current crisis is taking place against the background of a flourishing world.

The blame for the failure of the five-year policy lies with the liberals thoughtlessly repeating the experience of the destruction of centralism. They, the liberal economists, writers, and historians who have been in opposition to the state itself, oriented spiritually and intellectually toward the democratic West, have learned too little about their own people, about their psychology and subconscious, about the grim corners of our society, about our barracks, day rooms, and cattle yards. They are enraptured by their romanticism, their dilettantish intolerance, the falsetto of their appeals and slogans in the remote, secret world of the people, where there are immense contradictions, terrible unforgotten dramas, the finest, unaccounted-for energies drawn from previous historical eras. Again, liberal thought, nourished on a different culture and political science, has neglected the genetic experience of the country and the people and is conducting an irresponsible experiment.

The catastrophic consciousness is the ordinary consciousness of the current time. Catastrophe blows through the windows, befalls the home hearths, and washes over the podiums of the congresses and the cradles of children. Various personality types react to catastrophe in various ways.

The approach of catastrophe causes paralysis in some people. Social fear inherited from our fathers and our grandfathers roots them to the spot, turns them into pillars of salt. And entire segments of our society have been petrified by the anticipation of disaster.

In others catastrophes cause despair, hatred, total denial, and destruction hysteria. "The worse the better" is their cry. They accelerate their suffering and speed up all manifestations of the catastrophe, its proponents, and its

embodiment. Their goal is to destroy everything in existence down to the molecular, the monatomic level.

Still others, not believing in earthly things, in reasonable earthly regulation, are hoping for a miracle. Only a miracle, in their opinion, can save the state and protect the people. Only the Virgin Mary, the modeller of the Russian land, can intercede for us. Mystical hopes, visions, prophecies, the expectation of the Messiah, the Angel of Heaven, the hope of a sudden beam of light amidst the inky fog—such is the condition of the souls in these religiously inclined groups.

The fourth and most active group, seeing the abyss, hearing it breathing, deafened by the roar of the underworld, tries with its last efforts to save the state and the society. To turn the truck without a steering wheel away from the edge of the abyss, gaping there without roads. They act convulsively; they create groups, parties, cooperatives, programs for salvation, political clubs, and ecological forums. They come out with initiatives and formulas for salvation. If the catastrophe is slowed, if the landslide freezes halfway down the mountain, if the crack in the reactor stops at the steel casing, what formulas for salvation will be offered to the society? What are they, these models of development that nourish our intellectuals, onto which our social scientists and political scientists grasp? Where will we go if the earth is left for us to travel on?

Two formulas of the social structure, two vectors of the path, two ideologies of development are circulating in our social consciousness, are professed by groups of intellectuals, have economic and social developments, have gathered a multitude of adherents under their banners, and are ready to be realized in political action.

One of them is built into world development. The Bolshevik revolutionaries made a discovery according to which bourgeois history leads into a blind alley, bourgeois civilization is doomed to decay, and the future of this civilization is a wasteland encased in previous formations. The Bolsheviks decided to separate Russia from world development, to divert into an independent history, an independent humanity, onto an independent planet, having ripped it like a moon away from the rotting, doomed earth. The 70 years of Soviet history speak of separation, a path to a sovereign existence. By the time this sovereignty was achieved, after 70 years of military and strategic parity, we have been transformed into a moon that had flown off into its own orbit. But having accomplished this titanic work for separation, having expended all of our realistic potential for development on it, we looked around and saw on the rest of the earth not a wasteland but the flourishing civilizations of America, Europe, and Japan, and having investigated our sovereign moon, we discovered that the sea was without water, the valley without plants, the sky without an atmosphere. There arose the idea of transforming the moon into an earth, hooking it up to the vital, fruitful

energies of its original mother. The idea of revival. The tale of the prodigal son. The fairy tale about living and dead water.

It is impossible for the earth to insinuate itself into the community of the immense European continent. There is no space station where our Buran, burned-out and fatigued from flight, could land. And the West is ready to accept us only in parts, in pieces—the smaller, the better. The doctrine of fitting in presumes dividing the USSR up into republics, regions, individual zones, cities, villages, khutors, and individual persons. We shall be accepted if we are broken apart and transplanted element-by-element into the living organisms of the West.

Incorporation presupposes force. The people, having squeezed their hopes through the eye of the needle of socialist construction, having shed layers of culture and faith, having lost tens of millions of their compatriots, will have to take this same path again in the opposite direction, and they will do this only under force. We shall be driven into the kingdom of freedom with an iron fist. We shall be plunged into paradise after first having been drawn and quartered. The steel leaders of liberalism will mature before our eyes and the liberal writers and historians will train to be ministers of foreign affairs.

Another model, which bears features of real work, is the neo-Stalinist break through the backwardness, degradation, and chaos. Stalin, having received a ravaged, impoverished state to administer, enslaved the people terribly and pitilessly, he concentrated the products gained through robbery in local centers, and he broke out of these centers into an industrial society, catching up with the developed countries of the world in individual areas. Today's neo-Stalinist policy presupposes more extortion, more robbery of the people in order to fill up our empty coffers, scrape up the last crumbs of resources, and in those strips of development where intellectual and technological life is still active, to breakthrough into a postindustrial society, to draw closer to Japan and America in the major areas, thus transforming the other zones of the country into an impoverished organized camp serving futurological goals. This course, this program of development, like the former, presupposes force, a totalitarian system, and rigid simplified organization of all spheres of life.

This is what our hasty intellectual leaders intend to do when offering their formulas and ways of emerging from the catastrophe.

What does this mean? Do we have a choice?

Shall we reject the irrational, already useless love of the state for the sake of individual survival and benefit, for the sake of the "little man" who is the center and summit of the universe? Or for the umpteenth time shall we again show disdain for ourselves, for our little mortal life for the sake of a powerful state that will endure through the ages.

Alas, the people cannot bear much force. Either of the one kind or of the other. Oppressed, driven from the streets and rallies into their dormitories and barracks, harnessed with an iron yoke, obedient to the grim coachman who is pointing the way to San Francisco or Magadan, the people will not move from the spot, they will simply fall, die, and melt away, for the people's fatigue is very great, their backbone has already been broken in previous experiments, and they would prefer to die under the blows of an iron baton than to move this unwieldy iron carriage that is stuck between the ice fields and the desert.

What should we do? What should we believe in? Which speeches should we pay attention to?

There is a third picture which is like a utopia which puts active people off because of its transparency, its lack of mathematical precision, and its lack of concreteness. The third model of development rules out dictatorship and death. You will not hear about it at rallies, you will not read about it in fashionable magazines, you cannot find it in philosophical symposiums. But one has the premonition that it is possible. It is somewhere nearby, but not in the halls, not in the exhibits, not under the bright flood lights. It is in the basement, in the attic, in the mildewed sooty bath house, unpretentious, it hides, bow-legged, foaming at the mouth. It must be sought, called cautiously, not in a megaphone, but in a quiet child's flute.

Our social consciousness is a naked felled forest with the rotted black stumps of previous schools and world views, philosophical and religious trends, economic and social cultures, aesthetic and scientific teachings. Everything has been cut off at the root, and instead of a forest, instead of a grand culture renowned throughout the world, a Russian spiritual renaissance, blossoming late but powerfully, instead of all that—we have rotten, slippery stumps, the oily slime of the swamp.

Until quite recently it seemed that this is the way it would always be, forever. But the miracle is that several of the stumps started to turn green and a young shoot thrust itself upwards out of several rusty roots. We began to recognize in the sticky young leaves the species of the former trees.

The future idea of development, the future formula of our life lies concealed in the future, not yet grown forest of our destroyed culture. Only by nurturing all the flora of our ideas and allowing them to congeal in a living, vibrant dome will we be able to hear in the rumble and noise of the heights the real truth of our life. Until this happens everything will be a mistake, a convulsion of a mind paralyzed by catastrophe.

We must deliberately stop hurrying—allowing the loss of social time—spending the entire next century on developing culture. We must stop thinking in five-year plans, campaigns, from congress to congress, from leader to

leader, and again learn to think in centuries. The forests grow up over centuries. Kingdoms are created in centuries.

The main and basic type of human personality should reject the features of the iron leader, the brilliant soldier, the willful commander and manager. It must assume the features of a gardener, a forester, a pastor. In a continuous kindly patrol he must make the rounds of his impoverished kingdom and nurture, pamper, and water the drying stock and prop up the one that is broken. This forgotten type must be revived out of the ashes of our people. The people want him and are waiting for him.

We are living with a knife in our back. We have encased this knife in our living tissue but when walking we feel its blade under our heart. The primary and most essential task of today's social awareness is to immediately proclaim civil peace, to develop a theory of civil reconciliation, and not to let a civil massacre develop. We must pull the knife out of our back. We must stop, exorcise the blood spilled in the thick of our 70-year history. It, this spilled blood, is crying and destroying all our undertakings and clouds our vision with insanity. Now finally we must scrape red and white bones together into a common fraternal grave. On this grave we must celebrate a national memorial service, and bring about brotherly and universal reconciliation. Let us put an end to the feud. It is on this fraternal grave that today's general and clergyman, party member and "informal" will appear. It is from this grave that the long-suffering culture wills that future garden of ideas in which the Truth will be born.

Utopia is a flickering shadow of catastrophe. We have been fated to survive and the destruction of the state and the society will come to a halt; let the first act of the authorities be a universal proclamation of reconciliation from the place of execution. Let nobody be called to account. The guilty are not people of today but blood spilled in the past.

The tragedy of centralism is the tragedy of spilled blood. It is on all of us. The expiation of spilled blood is a problem of culture, morality, and religion. It is the main center of our tortured existence.

If the terrible disaster, which is unthinkable to the Russian people, does occur and the state is torn apart, and the people, robbed and deceived by their 1,000-year history, suddenly end up alone, and their recent "brothers" have taken their belongings and disappeared into their "national lifeboats" and sail away from the listing ship—well, we have nowhere to go. Exhausted, having lost our captains, with a crushed deck house and a broken compass, we shall descend, young and old, into the half-flooded hold, to plug the holes with our bodies, and to reinforce the ship's hull. We shall straighten it up, restore the superstructure and masts, and find among the clumps of clouds the guiding north star. We shall begin to sail.

Russian statehood, which embodies the "Russian idea" politically, economically, and spiritually, will be built anew. It will gather up all the best from its long, 1,000-year kingdom and the 70 years of Soviet history that have flown by in a moment. Even today the minds that have not been claimed by perestroika have already developed the concept of our future economy, our education system, our social institutions, and the global ties between Russians and the world. We shall stand for a long time, we shall stand terribly beaten, our limbs broken and sprained, not bitter but wiser.

Deep in their souls our people are cheerful, hard-working, and resourceful. The spirit of our people taps the energy of heaven and earth. The ship of the Russian state will not be built overnight and the temple of people's ideals will not be erected in a day. But we have the blueprints and the workers.

More on this subject later.

Creation of Anti-Bureaucracy Panels Urged

PM1001130790 Moscow PR:VDA in Russian
7 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[Article by USSR People's Deputy Academician V. Ginzburg under the rubric "Forum for People's Deputies": "Fighting the Bureaucrats"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] USSR People's Deputy Academician V. Ginzburg has proposed that M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, set up a USSR Supreme Soviet commission to fight bureaucratism. Since this proposal is of great public importance, the PRAVDA editorial office asked V. Ginzburg to elaborate on his views in greater detail for our readers.

To demonstrate the harmfulness of bureaucratism—that cancer on our society—would be to do the obvious. For some reason I react particularly sharply to bureaucratic distortions. Perhaps the fact is that, as a physicist, I am accustomed to logic and I particularly loathe bureaucratic cretinism.

Bureaucratism is a very wide-ranging concept. Accurately translated, the word means the rule (power) of functionaries. But that definition could cover a considerable amount of official correspondence and the need to issue various documents, papers, and certificates. As is entirely obvious, we cannot govern without a certain administrative apparatus, and, equally, we cannot make do without documents, papers, and certificates. Therefore what should be meant by bureaucratism is essentially unskilled and inflexible leadership and administration finding expression, in particular, in huge numbers of excess documents and inquiries and in formalistic approaches when resolving simple questions. At an election meeting, when I was propagandizing the idea of setting up commissions to fight bureaucratism, one voter proposed calling them "commissions to combat idiocy." Essentially he was right, although the question does not

boil down merely to idiocy. In order to explain his idea, I will quote a few randomly chosen examples.

In order to obtain a disability benefit (and a disability certificate in general) people often have to endure special commissions each year even in cases where it is clearly a matter of lifelong disability and illness (a missing arm or leg, oligophrenia, and so forth). Many questionnaires contain entirely unnecessary questions. Obtaining housing and residence permits involves an enormous amount of paper, hassle, and so forth. Some things are indeed necessary. But here is an example I myself came across.

A staffer at our institute obtained a cooperative apartment and the right to live there with his wife. But while all this was being "formalized," the couple had a child, and there was only residence permission for two people. So the apartment stood empty and the people wandered around for 7 whole months before being issued a residence permit for their child (incidentally, this example featured in an article which I sent to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA back in 1985 but which was only published 19 March 1986, and without this example).

It is well known that in order to obtain a personal pension CPSU veterans need to present six documents (a personal cadre registration sheet, a list of their awards and copies of award documents, a reference from work, an autobiography, a social security certificate on the size of pension received, and a certificate from the housing administration). Yet, as 85-year-old D. Levchenko correctly writes, his party card and personal file would have been quite sufficient to establish the fact that he has been a party member for 50 years.

In my aforementioned article in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and in an article in the collection "No Other Way" (Progress Publishing House, 1988) I quoted examples of bureaucratism (and idiocy) which have to be encountered in scientific institutes, and not only there. A vivid example was the ban on photocopying, even though it is an important component of scientific and technical progress.

Abroad there are photocopying machines in virtually every corridor of scientific institutes, for instance. But in our country there have long been crazy "regulations" requiring that photocopiers be housed in special rooms, that they be operated by special officials, and that permission be obtained for photocopying. All this has meant a colossal waste of time, extra work for typists, speculation (working "on the side"), and so forth.

Yet, obviously, the use of photocopiers should not be subject to any restrictions. If photocopiers are used by anyone for illegal actions—for instance, to propagandize racial hatred or to copy secret materials, actions which are prohibited by law—the guilty should be brought to account. Nevertheless, there is no need to punish the machines and all those who use them for their work. This is so obvious that it ought to have taken literally a few

minutes to resolve the matter, whereas in fact it was "resolved" over years and, it seems, was only recently settled in principle.

Needless to say, these examples could be continued; many of them have been discussed in the press. I just wanted to explain what I meant by, for instance, "everyday bureaucratism." The next level of bureaucratism is the various bans and restrictions associated with the activity of the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press [Glavlit] and the All-Union Copyright Agency, and with secrets...

The better elaborated and clearer laws and resolutions are, and the more competent workers at all levels are, obviously, the less room there is for bureaucratism to flourish and prosper. All the legislative activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the other soviets is also aimed in this broad sense at combating bureaucratism. Somebody, however, must give special thought to the elimination of bureaucratic distortions. This is the purpose and aim of the commissions to combat bureaucratism, since things will not happen by themselves.

In my view, the commissions should be set up at various levels: in ministries, departments, social organizations, republic supreme soviets, and, of course, the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A certain amount of experience in this area has already been acquired by a similar commission at the USSR Academy of Sciences. The commission should be headed without fail by the leader of the relevant institution or soviet (or by his first deputy). The point is that the commission chairman must have authority rather than just be in a position to issue more papers and requests. For instance, at the Ministry of Social Security such a commission would be entirely able, as I see it, to sharply reduce the amount of paper needed to obtain pensions. In cases when the matter transcends the competence of a given department or soviet, a higher-level commission could help out—particularly the USSR Supreme Soviet commission for combating bureaucratism.

I think that the commission's work should be organized as follows. The commission (comprising not more than 20-30 people and headed by a leader of the highest level) should be broken down into groups dealing with pensions, health and leisure issues, the housing problem, science, education, culture, transport and communications, as well as possibly other spheres. Something similar has been done with a certain amount of success at the Supreme Soviet Commission on Privileges, of which I am a member.

The commission reveals (through relevant polls and inquiries) the bureaucratic distortions and obstacles that exist in all spheres (excessive documents, inquiries, bans, restrictions, and so forth) and demands that they be removed.

The commission cannot and should not, of course, investigate complaints and requests from individual

citizens; that is a matter for the relevant departments (the apparatus of the commission itself should obviously be made up of one or two workers from the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat. The creation of lower-level commissions to combat bureaucratism should in no event lead to the appearance of special official positions). The commission's task would be to reveal typical bureaucratic distortions on the basis of citizens' letters and to promote their eradication through lower-level commissions and other means. Incidentally, it is not necessary to wait for the commissions to be set up. You can write to me at the Supreme Soviet right now.

The commission should specially analyze the activities of the Glavlit and other similar organizations. It is important to focus the mass media's attention on this work. The commission's activities should be organized in close contact with the work of the People's Control Commission and the Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals. Representatives of these committees should be part of the commission to combat bureaucratism.

It would be naive to think that by creating commissions we will eradicate bureaucratism. But the creation of such commissions is in no way a bureaucratic method of combating bureaucratism (that is the argument used by certain critics, not to mention demagogues). We are not talking about the creation of a new institution with its own staff and official seal, but of a form of administrative and social analysis and control.

Nothing ventured, nothing gained. Commissions to combat bureaucratism will not be harmful under any circumstances, and they could be of considerable use. If we save many thousands, if not millions of people from the need to collect completely unnecessary pieces of paper, to take unnecessary tests, and to bang their heads against the brick wall of idiotic bans (such as the ban on photocopying), then even in this case our efforts will have been entirely justified. On a broad level the efforts of commissions to fight bureaucratism could play a prominent role in the perestroika of our entire society.

Nuclear Test Site Placed Under Public Control

*LD2501031490 Moscow in English to North America
2300 GMT 24 Jan 90*

[Text] A nuclear test site near Semipaltinsk in Kazakhstan has been put under public control. Monitors have been posted around it and in nearby areas. They'll constantly monitor the radiation level in the event of new tests. The public has been pressing for the site's closure. The Soviet authorities have officially declared readiness to abandon nuclear testing in the country if the United States follows suite.

Economic

Belov Reports on Economic Development in 1989

LD2601024190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1458 GMT 25 Jan 90

["Results of Development in Soviet Economy in 1989"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jan (TASS)—Nikolay Belov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, the USSR Goskomstat, said that one of the principal problems is to fill the consumer market with goods. He was speaking at a news conference on the results of the development of the Soviet economy in 1989 which was held today at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center.

Retail goods turnover in the USSR, he noted, grew by R37.3 billion, but this was clearly insufficient. More refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, radio receivers, and other goods were sold. The growth in retail goods turnover, however, was only 5.9 percent, as compared to 12.9 percent growth in the population's income. The population's unsatisfied demand is estimated at R165 billion. If this had been balanced through a market economy, the prices for last year alone would have leapt by 40 percent. The USSR Committee on Statistics estimates that the population's overpayment [pereplaty] in connection with "black market" activities, came to R60 billion. This is the first time that the USSR State Committee on Statistics has published such figures.

Speculative demand (for instance, for soap and detergents, sales of which in 1989 were up 50 percent over 1988 and imports of which were up 10-fold), the restriction of free trading in coupons for individual types of produce, and rumors about a possible currency reform are contributing to the deterioration of the state of the market, noted Nikolay Belov.

Last year, the growth in generated national income, adjusted for inflation, was 2.4 percent, which was below the plan, according to the deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics. The state's internal debt increased by R90 billion to stand at R400 billion. At the same time, it proved possible to reduce the state budget deficit from the projected R120 billion to R92 billion. Inflation, taking into account hidden inflation, stood at 7.7 percent. The money supply exceeded the previous year's by 56 percent to stand at R18 billion.

In 1989 the number of republican ministries was cut by 25, and the administrative staff working in them by 254,000.

Many labor collectives, noted the speaker, proved to be unprepared for work in the new conditions, as a result of which losses of working time increased and discipline deteriorated. In many cases this caused a drop in growth rates or even a fall in production.

The housing problem remains intense, although R66 billion more than in 1989, or an increase of 6 percent, was allocated to house building.

The situation concerning the observance of the law deteriorated. Last year 2.5 million crimes were committed /a growth of approximately one-third compared with the previous year/. Mass disorders occurred, accompanied by pogroms and arson. The losses incurred due to the disorders were 7 million manpower days for the year, which is equal to 30,000 workers being absent from their workplace at the same time, and the direct losses from the disorders amounted to R1 billion.

Metallurgy /primarily due to a shortage of coke and scrap metal/, and the fuel and energy complex experienced serious difficulties. Production of electricity amounted to 1.722 billion kw hours, of oil 607 million tonnes /13 million tonnes less than the plan/. Speaking about the reasons for the decline in coal production, Nikolay Belov indicated that consumers have rejected some types of coals, and also that there had been strikes in the industry which led to shortfalls in deliveries to consumers of 7 million tonnes of coal.

The volume of agricultural production in the USSR grew by 0.8 percent /given a growth of 0.7 percent in the country's population/. The number of people employed in the sector fell by 700,000. The country produced 12.9 million tonnes of meat, losses of which remained high /1 million tonnes/. The per capita consumption was 67 kgs of meat /59 kgs without subproducts/, 359 kgs of milk, and 270 eggs.

Foreign trade turnover grew by 4.7 percent, and exports grew by 1.7 percent by comparison with 1988 /to R68.2 billion, while imports grew by 7.9 percent /to R70.2 billion/. In the country 1,274 joint enterprises were registered.

Official Explains Tax Legislation Problems

LD1501225690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 15 January carries a 3.5-minute report by station correspondent Andrey Nikiforov on his visit to the Commission for Planning, Budget, and Finance of the Council of the Union.

Nikiforov says: "As you are aware, comrades—it has already been reported in the press—a draft law on an integrated system of taxation within the USSR was to be drawn up. However, on the agreement of a whole series of Supreme Soviet committees and commissions it has been decided to adopt only two draft laws at the third session. These are on taxing profits and the incomes of enterprises, associations, and organizations, and on the taxation of citizens. This decision can be explained by the fact that at present there are no real possibilities for creating a single law on the taxation system within the USSR while, in 1990, there can be no holding back the course of economic reform and the task of stabilizing

and improving the economy. Three creative working groups operate within the commission, with specialists from government bodies, trade unions, and academics taking part. One of these, on taxation of citizens, is headed by Viktor Andreyevich Kukholev, chairman of the subcommission on money circulation."

Kukholev explains that the commission and his own group have encountered problems including the size of a nontaxable minimum. He remarks: "This is complicated by the fact that there are no theoretical studies today that could determine a minimum wage for the country. We are adopting this law today at a time when money circulation and the consumer market within the country are, effectively, in ruins." Further reducing taxes and increasing the minimum wage would mean further losses to the budget, increased currency incomes for citizens, heightened inflationary processes, increased issues of money, restricted to R10 billion at the Supreme Soviet, he notes.

Nikiforov says he has heard that the "commission is in favor of abolishing taxes on single people and other categories of citizen." Kukholev acknowledges that this is so "despite the fact that we do have such a difficult economic situation, we are in favor of abolishing this tax. Its abolition is to be carried out in two areas: Taxes on the minimum wage are to be abolished, as are those on people who have medical proof that they are unable to have children." This will cause losses to the budget. A version of the law on taxation of citizens includes other benefits, such as reducing taxes on salaries of R80 to R100 and extra benefits for people handicapped since childhood. The present economic situation means benefits for other groups of people are not feasible, Kukholev explains.

Selyunin Criticizes Government Economic Program

PM2301145790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 90 p 1

[Article by economist V. Selyunin under general heading: "As Bad As It's Going To Get?"]

[Text] Before our very eyes, the government has plunged into implementing a brilliant project, which is as follows: In order to abolish the command system, you first need to consolidate and strengthen it. To restore it to at least the state that it was in before perestroika. I would bet a case of brandy against a bottle of mineral water that no good will come of the wonders of such dialectics.

In the 5-year plan so far, the output of goods has increased annually by R17 billion on average. Growth of R66 billion is now planned. That means that approximately the same increase that was achieved over the past 4 years must be attained in 1 year. Is this fantasy? In general, yes. However, there is one way to make the desired figure come true—by raising the prices of goods. Of course, this is not very nice, but large sums of money could be extracted from the population in this way. However, the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of

Trade Unions] immediately intervened. Until now the AUCCTU has defended nobody's interests. But now, wanting to score points, it is pressing for a popular but irresponsible measure: Prices must be stable, and that's the end of the matter. And whether there are goods on sale at these prices or not does not interest them. Instead of rejecting this totally unrealistic option, the government is issuing one directive after another about preventing price hikes and is outlining impressive figures for goods production. Directive planning is the core of the command economy. Whether you tighten it up or not, the result is well known: Plans have nothing to do with real life.

And let us imagine for a moment that for once in our history our plans come true. However, even in such an unlikely situation there is little consolation, as the population's monetary income will rise according to this same plan by an amount close to the proposed increase in goods. It transpires that one will cancel out the other: There will be no balance in the market. Meanwhile the population's savings, according to my calculations, are now close to R500 billion. This is much more than the annual labor remuneration fund for the whole national economy. Economists use the following term: "hot money." These are the banknotes that would be spent in a trice if goods were put on the market. A year ago it came to around R70 billion, but now it is R150 billion to R200 billion. And savings are continuing to grow. What if all R500 billion are presented to the trade network? The remaining goods would be snapped up together with the shelves in the stores.

We must make up our minds to make difficult changes and do it today. Yes, the transfer to a market economy involves a worsening situation in the national economy and a fall in the standard of living. We have not yet reached the lowest point of this decline. The situation will worsen anyway, but reforms promise a slow recovery whereas the delaying of them threatens the economy with a lethal outcome. The changes that are needed are more basic than those proposed by the government. It is supposedly not opposed to competition between commodity producers, but it believes that this market can operate alone, without a capital market and without a labor market, and consequently without the privatization of ownership. With such a sorry market, competition between commodity producers is reduced to a race in prices, the squandering of production capital, and noisy waiting lines for fiscal privileges and free credits, as we are observing with despair.

We know what changes are necessary and what order they should be carried out in. Prices will have to be "freed"; we will have to stop paying workers who produce goods the market does not want; and other unpopular measures will have to be carried out. At the moment, we have nothing to offer people apart from new burdens and sweat. If we are to live better, we must first survive.

Russian Peasant Farm Association Holds Congress*PM2501160990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1*

[I. Abakumov, V. Gavrichkin, and V. Shabanov report:
"Russian Peasants' Congress"]

[Text] The first (constituent) congress of the Association of Peasant Farms and Cooperatives of Russia [AKKOR] opened in Moscow at the Orlenok Hotel movie and concert complex 22 January.

It is being attended by representatives of peasant farms, livestock units, and agricultural cooperatives from 33 territories of Russia and also their colleagues from other union republics. The report "Agrarian Reform and the Development of the Structure of Peasant Farms" was delivered at the congress by Academician A.M. Yemelyanov of VASKHNIL [All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences named for V.I. Lenin], USSR people's deputy, and chairman of the AKKOR organizational committee. Doctor of Economic Sciences V.F. Bashmachnikov, consultant to the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department, spoke to the congress delegates about the aims of AKKOR, the principles of its establishment, and its activities.

On the first day of the congress, delegates focused their attention on the discussion of reports and the draft statutes of the association. Taking due account of submitted suggestions and amendments, the statutes were adopted.

Much work lies ahead of the delegates. They must form the association's leading organs, express their opinion on the draft laws on ownership and land, discuss the USSR draft law on peasant farms which was elaborated on their initiative, and agree on possible forms of the association's collaboration with other peasant unions. The congress will end 24 January.

Independent Lithuanian Railroad Proposed*904H0102A Moscow GUDOK in Russian 9 Jan 90 p 2*

[Article by SOVETSKAYA LITVA correspondent V. Skripov: "Division in Favor of Division?"]

[Text] All through the month of November, letter-petitions from the collectives of various subdivisions of the railroad in our republic arrived at the editorial office of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LITVA. Their essence was the same: We fully support the demand of Kaunas railroad workers concerning the independence of the Lithuanian Railroad. At issue here is an appeal by the conference of the labor collective of the Kaunas Track Section published in late October in the newspaper TIESA with a call to engage in a campaign not only to restore the status lost in 1963 with the creation of a united Baltic Railroad but also to leave the jurisdiction of the MPS [Ministry of Railways].

Both the conclusions and the system of arguments in this document echo almost completely the thoughts that the chief engineer of the Vilnius division of the railroad, A. Klere, stated at approximately the same time on the pages of the journal LIYAUDES UKIS (NATIONAL ECONOMY, 1989, No 10). This is why it is worthwhile to analyze this article in more detail.

At the outset, the author criticizes a four-stage management system which has evolved in the sector (ministry—railroad administration—division—enterprise) for being cumbersome and inflexibly bureaucratic. The negative features of such a system become sharply more apparent in the course of our transition to economic accountability. For example, the current system of planning from the top eliminates an opportunity to pursue a deliberate economic policy. Under this system, the divisions are not aware of trends in the external contacts of the railroad and the direction of freight streams and are caught off guard if the intensity of such streams fluctuates (as, for example, is currently the case here). The divisions cannot efficiently invest in expanding and modernizing fixed assets because such work is planned and financed by a department located in Riga.

Further on, A. Klere quotes a multitude of statistics to prove that Lithuania is "shortchanged" by the management in both the technical sphere and the sphere of social policy. For example, they indicate that the share of track equipped with automatic blocking devices is twice as high in Latvia, and that electrified segments are also more numerous there.

With the intensity of labor being lower, the average wages of Latvian railroad workers together with payments from the financial incentive fund exceed the Lithuanian level by approximately R400 a year. Less housing is built in Lithuania; health care services are worse; and so on.

The author looks for arguments in history as well, analyzing the 20 years of the existence of an independent railroad in bourgeois Lithuania. He testifies that during this period 223 km of track and 33 stations were built, and the speed of trains achieved 110-120 km per hour. The Lithuanian railroad became an organic part of the railway network of West Europe. This comparison leads to the conclusion that there is no reason for the Lithuanian transportation workers to doubt that they will cope with the management and operation of the sphere in question themselves.

The position of A. Klere reflects the extreme point of view of Lithuanian transportation workers which assumes "quitting twice." It seems to be a popular position due to the "endorsement" campaign. However, taking into account the politicized situation in the Baltic area (the fear of being branded a "stagnant"), we should be careful in making such "statistical" evaluations.

My experience of personal communication with the railroad's managers, specialists, and workers leads me to

believe that a majority agree as to the aspiration to break away from exactly "the dictate of Riga."

A. Sadovskiy, deputy chief of the Vilnius division of the Baltic Railroad, says: "I do not think that this issue is that simple. Breaking down a unified state transportation process into isolated zones is a trend running counter to the experience of the entire world. The clamor by some of our radicals for introducing the ethnic language on the railroad appears altogether absurd. How will business communication between dispatchers and engineers proceed in this case? What is a passenger from another republic going to do for whom announcements to board his train are made in an unfamiliar language? Concerning the bills of lading with which the freight arrives—who is going to translate them from Lithuanian in Kiev or Yerevan?"

In the operations service, they reason it out more or less like this: Why do we need commands from the administration in view of the fact that it is much easier to resolve the issues with freight shippers directly? Why do the clients turn to Riga if we are responsible for making the delivery?

G. Prokhorenkova, chief of the department of container traffic and commercial work, says: "As a traffic person, I cannot imagine how the railroad is going to function with its management decentralized and fixed assets divided up. At present, our cars are common. If they are made the property of the republics, what sense would it make for them to send the cars on long runs into 'someone else's' territory? This entails the risk of getting junk returned to you."

I ask a provocative question: "However, you are going to hand the cars over by virtue of a contract?"

My interlocutor counters: "Contracts are fine, but go and try proving later whose fault it is. There will be no end to the arguments."

At the planning department of the Vilnius division, I was shown interesting calculations sent there by the administration of the Baltic Railroad. On two occasions, I discussed this review with V. Kabanov, the administration's former chief economist, who emphasized the financial cost of separation. Thus, according to these calculations, a transition to the system of regional economic accountability in Lithuania will "cost" it approximately R35 million in additional capital investment per year.

This amount includes: Expenditures for equipping new border transfer stations (including locomotives for shunting work); payment for the work of outside train engineer crews ensuring movement through the territory of the republic; payments for the repair of equipment, maintenance of social infrastructure facilities, and so on. In other words, at issue is the unavoidable burden on the republic state budget which will appear when cooperation and division of labor on the all-union and Baltic scale are given up.

To be sure, the people at the republic Gosplan [State Planning Committee] do not agree with these calculations. Over there, it is believed that economic accountability is what it is, but the policy of subsidization and the distribution of fixed assets free of charge should be maintained and unchanged. The logic of this position is as follows: The fixed assets and the existing system of tariffs and rates to which the profitability of some kinds of transportation and the unprofitability of others are due developed through "the community process" on the scale of the entire Soviet Union. This is why we should proceed from the situation that has actually emerged.

Apparently, these arguments stand to reason. However, what kind of economic accountability will there be if we accept them?

A hostile attitude toward the administration and complaints about it are common among the rank-and-file employees of the railroad as well—foremen, engineers, repairmen, and so on. They are outraged by their complete dependence on Riga in the matters of material and technical supplies (We have to travel to Riga even to get bolts for rail joints!), slow construction of production facilities (for example, work on building a car outfitting depot in Vilnius proceeds at a snail's pace), neglect for the social sphere (Lithuania has a sea coast and not even a second-rate recreation facility has been built), and so on.

Perhaps, mutual lack of dispatch will be found if we sort out each specific case. However, this tendency to blame Riga for all "sins" proceeds from one definite circumstance: The people feel the cool attitude of local authorities toward themselves. Indeed, there is no hiding the fact that the railroad personnel who live under the conditions of extraterritoriality promote the attitude toward themselves as stepchildren, and not only in the republic.

Incidentally, V. Kabanov voiced an idea in this regard which merits special attention. He believes that changes are long overdue in the system of relations between the railroad organs and the local organs of management. Such changes would be needed to make up for the shortage of attention to the former on the part of the latter. A direct withholding of taxes on the railroad by local (not only republic but also municipal) budgets should be practiced so that the residents of the territory would see that the railroad personnel are not at all "mouths to feed," that they also contribute to the development of the social sphere.

In short, this is the range of opinions on the future of its railroad transportation in the social consciousness of Lithuania. It reflects the overall trend in the development of views associated with switching to the economic sovereignty of the republic. However, the level of "technical elaboration" of the issue appears quite superficial to me. It has not yet reached the stratum in which the nuances responsible for the true complexity of the issue emerge. This issue was not even brought up in the main

report by V. Sharika, chairman of the Lithuanian [Soviet Socialist Republic] Gosplan, on the 1990 plan at the 15th session of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania held in early December. Apparently, this shows that as of now the government of the republic has no definite and firm point of view on the status of the railroad. Let us hope that the final variant will reflect a balanced and thoroughly considered solution.

Paper Examines 'Gold Fever' Phenomenon

PM2501142190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Jan 90 Moscow Evening Edition p 2

[Article by L. Skoptsov under rubric "Details and Commentaries": "Is 'Gold Fever' Continuing?"]

[Text] Two articles appeared at once in IZVESTIYA No 10 on the exciting gold topic.

On page 8, Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Komin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices, explained the USSR Council of Ministers' decision to increase the level of retail prices for jewelry. The main argument is that "gold and precious stones are hard currency commodities, and as of 1989 sales of them took on an abnormal character when jewelry started to be bought up in bulk and there were long lines. To a significant degree... the buying up... was done by citizens from other countries."

On page 4, the international page, in an article under the significant title "Experts Forecast an Increase in Prices" E. Guseynov reflects on the situation in the world gold markets. A very plausible hypothesis was mentioned for the first time in our press: that the present unforeseen increase in prices for gold is the consequence of attempts by the U.S. Administration to give the Soviet Union an opportunity to earn additional foreign currency for perestroika needs. The plausibility of this hypothesis is that we are managing the world market in contrast to our domestic consumer market. Also, we are managing it quite well. If this hypothesis is correct, then we have to expect an increase in prices for other traditional goods that we export—energy sources above all.

The perceptive reader may see right away the intrinsic connection between events on the world and domestic market. Theoretically, a 50-percent jump in prices should reduce the domestic demand for gold and release resources for export deliveries. But...

On 10 January, I specially went around to several Moscow jewelry stores. In contrast to the stagnant years, when following a rise in prices the stores would be bursting with goods which had until then gone missing heaven knows where, the window displays were empty. But the stores are packed. Neither gold, nor silver, nor even cupronickel were to be had anywhere. The sales clerks put the shortage of goods down to the fact that the jewelry factories are not coping with orders from the trade system. This is indeed so: There are no reserve capacities to satisfy the present demand.

But I would add another market factor. In recent months "black market" prices for gold have exceeded state prices not by 50 percent but by 75 to 100 percent. The citizens who are cramming the stores, in the eyes of the state trade, remain as ever uncompetitive compared with the "back door" customers. In this case the replacement of price tags clearly does not keep pace with the balance between supply and demand, that is the real price. And this fact alone makes it possible to say that, as before, our internal market's collisions with world economic trends are connected with the excessively long chain of middle men. The monopolistic position of state trade makes it possible to distort prices to the point that they are unrecognizable. The current "high" gold rate on the world market is only 40 percent of the "record" prices in the 1970's. But internal prices always develop steadily in one direction—onward and upward. It is even indecent to mention that the gold content of one ruble—almost a whole gram of pure gold (0.987412 grams since 1961)—is more than \$13 according to world prices: Who talks about rope in the house of a hanged man? There is no harm in mentioning once more that the state receives unearned income from the difference between the gold rates: It sells goods to the population made from precious metals at one set of prices and buys it up from it at half the price. In a rule-of-law state, all sellers and all customers must have equal rights.

So, price tags are rewritten, and the jewelers prepare consignments of goods. Probably, for a certain time the lines outside "Izumrudy" and "Malakhitovye Shkatulki" stores will get shorter. Incidentally, it was difficult to see in these lines the tourists from the capitalist countries to which A. Komin refers. There is an increasing number of Soviet women in Soviet overcoats and Soviet boots. I am sure that a new attack of gold fever is not far off. In any case it is not a matter of 5-year periods, as before; it could happen in a year or a few months.

When prices increase this means only that money is losing its value. When money loses its value and the old price tags remain, the goods disappear from the shelves and appear in those places where the real price is given for them. The item costs as much as the customer agrees to pay for it; not a single State Committee for Prices in the world can deny this truth, and so it is in our country, and likewise in China. We always make an additional payment to the state price for an item in short supply, if only in time spent in our endless lines. A miracle is needed to maintain retail prices in a weak economy. But mature people know that miracles don't happen.

This is why the present 50-percent (a love for round figures?) increase in retail prices for gold is an alarm signal. A signal that the government, however much it opposed it, is forced to set out on the slippery path of half-measures and compromises. Prices cannot be left to the will of the free market: Galloping inflation keeps commodities on the shelves but can send people out onto the streets. It was impossible to maintain all retail prices—the trade system developed into a system of

distributors. Of course, there was a plan to tie up the population's money (that is virtually fulfill the state's financial commitments) by selling it gold bullion. But if there was trading even at world prices, about 3,000 tonnes of precious metal would be spent for these purposes. On the other hand, the fear that this gold will vanish from state hands into the hands of dealers in the "shadow" and criminal economy is not an insignificant factor in the policy.

So, as can already be seen, this will take place in stages. Now it is gold. Later, most likely—furs, video equipment, cars—in what way, you wonder, are they better or worse than gold? It is a question only of the timeframe of the next increases. Nevertheless, because there will be no balanced [ravnovesnykh] prices, these commodities, which are "prestigious" or in very short supply, will not be freely on sale, but they will contribute to the acceleration of inflation's destructive course.

The parliamentary debates, as we all remember very well, ended with approval for the government program of emergency measures. One of the unwritten conditions of the new consensus is not to touch retail prices at least in 1990. And if the government nonetheless takes any emergency measures, they must be put forward for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet. How should 10 January be assessed from this viewpoint? Will we finally be able to hold this position and buy time? I don't know. I am not sure. I fear that the success or failure of the policy adopted in the economy will to a greater degree depend on the status of the world market than on our own efforts. May the wind of success be at our backs. It seems that our captains still cannot make headway against the gusts blowing in their faces.

Agricultural

Ivashko Addresses Kiev Food Conference

904B0115B Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
18 Jan 90 p 2

[Report by N. Pugovitsa: "Businesslike Discussion"]

[Text] Kiev, 17 January—Positive trends have emerged in the Ukraine in recent years in an increase in the production of agricultural raw material and food. But the level that has been reached does not permit full satisfaction of the population's basic foodstuff requirements, which is holding back restructuring processes and creating social tension. What are the paths of a bigger increase in food, and how can we make fuller use of scientific and technological potential and improve scientific support for the development of the agro-industrial complex in the 13th 5-Year Plan? These questions were at the center of the attention of a republic scientific and practical conference which was held over two days in the republic capital. It was organized by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Agro-Industrial

Complex Commission and the VASKhNIL [V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences] Southern Branch Presidium.

Leading agrarian scientists, obkom [oblast party committee] first secretaries, oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] chairmen, members of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Agro-Industrial Complex Commission, obkom secretaries in charge of the agro-industrial complex, chairmen of oblast agro-industrial councils, managers of mechanical engineering and chemical and defense industry enterprises and agro-industrial committee science-production systems and production pacesetters took part in the conference. The papers of A.N. Tkachenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] State Agro-Industrial Committee, on the priority directions of the development of the republic's agro-industrial production in the 13th 5-Year Plan and of A.A. Sozinov, member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and the VASKhNIL and leader of the republic Center for Scientific Support for the Development of Sectors of the Agro-Industrial Complex, on scientific support for sectors of the agro-industrial complex were discussed comprehensively. The conference's recommendations will form the basis of the "Food 95" science and technology program currently being developed in the republic.

The conferees were addressed by V.A. Ivashko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Scientific

'Cosmos-2057' Satellite Launched 25 Jan

LD2601092890 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0851 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jan (TASS)—The latest artificial earth satellite "Cosmos-2057", intended for the continuation of space research, was launched in the USSR on Thursday. It was put into orbit with the following parameters:

- Initial period of rotation—89.7 minutes;
- Apogee—349 km;
- Perigee—195 km;
- Inclination of orbit—62.8 degrees.

The equipment is functioning normally.

Officials Name Two Mir Replacement Crews

LD2401182290 Moscow TASS in English 1718 GMT
24 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 24 TASS—Two space crews were named in the Soviet Union today, one of which will replace cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov who have been working on the Mir orbital station for almost five months already.

The first replacement crew includes Anatoliy Solovev and Aleksandr Balandin and the second—Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov.

Solovev and Strekalov already participated in space flights, Strekalov having made three flights into space, while Balandin and Manakov have no space flight experience.

A state commission will determine which of the crews will conduct the sixth major expedition to Mir. The decision will be taken on the eve of the launch, scheduled for February 20, 1986. On April 9, 1987, and December 6, 1989, two Kvant modules carrying equipment docked with the station.

Apart from the five major expeditions, Mir has housed five crews—one Soviet and the other four international ones, including Syrian, Bulgarian, Afghan and French cosmonauts.

A total of 21 cosmonauts, including four foreigners, have worked aboard the orbital station.

Reinforcement of Chernobyl Reactor Planned

LD2401193490 Moscow TASS in English 1846 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Kiev January 24 TASS—By TASS correspondents Dmitriy Kiyanskiy and Alexey Petrunya:

Soviet scientists are devising methods of reinforcing the "sarcophagus," the buried fourth reactor of the Chernobyl nuclear power station, damaged during the 1986 accident.

Experts believe that the present structure built almost three and a half years ago can serve its purpose for at least 30 years.

But internal structures might be damaged with time under the impact of chemical and thermal processes within the reactor. Hence the need to reinforce it.

The task of utmost importance now is to reinforce the 2,000-tonne lid of the reactor, a slab with a 14 meter diameter. Many design offices work on this.

Scientists proposed to transform the "sarcophagus" into a long-term facility having no impact on the environment.

The feasibility report is to be completed this year and blueprints should be provided in 1992.

Many organisations of the National Academy of Sciences, specifically institutes of nuclear research, geochemistry and the physics of minerals, geophysics, botanics and cybernetics, are participating in preparing the feasibility report.

Numerous sensors reflect the situation in the reactor. They help check on the operation of aerosol filters.

When a sensor indicates that radioactive aerosols have accumulated within the filter, it is withdrawn, placed in a special container and buried in a solid waste depository.

Filters were replaced several times in the past three years. This shows that gas discharges within the entombment are not large. Samples taken daily show that such discharges are even lower than permissible norms.

So rumours spread from time to time that radiation in the area adjoining the station is growing are groundless.

Military

No Baltic Reservists Sent to Transcaucasus

LD2301174190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] A report from Riga: Not a single person liable for military service will be sent from the Baltic to the Transcaucasian regions where a state of emergency has been declared. This was reported by Major General (Revin), deputy chief of staff of the Baltic Military District. He refuted rumors being persistently circulated here concerning the deployment of reservists for the temporary reinforcement of certain units of the Transcaucasian Military District in connection with the extremely tense situation in a number of regions of Azerbaijan and Armenia. The collection of signatures announced in Latvia against such an action allegedly taking place is the result either of a lack of information on the part of the population or of the deliberate aggravation of the interethnic problems.

Moscow Military District Komsomol Meets

PM2501154390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jan 90 First Edition p 2

[Report by Reserve Colonel F. Semyanovskiy under rubric "Komsomol Conferences: Renewal Needed"]

[Excerpts] A Moscow Military District Komsomol [Communist Youth League] conference has been held. In addition to the plenary sessions, delegates worked in four commissions in which they discussed the problems of restructuring and democratizing the life of Komsomol organizations and studied the state of military discipline and young people's military-patriotic education. [passage omitted]

The following took part in the conference work: Colonel General N. Kalinin, the district's troop commander; Colonel General N. Moiseyev, member of the Military Council and chief of the Ground Forces Political Directorate; and Lieutenant General A. Makunin, member of the Military Council and chief of the district political directorate.